

Maclean's

Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine

December 20, 1999

IMAGES OF '99
PETER C. NEWMAN
ON THE AMERICAN
TAKEOVER
RINGING IN THE
MILLENNIUM

The Vanishing Border

The 16th Annual Poll

Nearly half of us favour
a common currency
.....

One-quarter want
a U.S. passport

Two-thirds believe we
have lost control of
our business
.....

And sex is still better
in Newfoundland



1 Display Until January 3, 2000
\$4.95



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With CBC's



By The Strategic
Counsel

WE SET OUT TO BUILD THE WORLD'S SAFEST CAR.
SOME HAVE ARGUED WE'VE ACHIEVED FAR MORE.

- "WITH A CAR AS CAPABLE, BEAUTIFUL, AND VALUE-LOADED AS THE S80, SUCCESS SEEMS ASSURED"
— JIM KENTIS, CANADIAN AUTOMOTIVE JOURNALIST
- "THE S80 EFFICIENTLY CARVED UP TWISTY ROADS LIKE A FIRST-RATE SPORTS COUPE."
— RING & TRACK
- "BY COMPARISON A MERCEDES E-CLASS SEDAN FEELS — AND SOUNDS — A BIT BLUE."
— CAR AND DRIVER



VOLVO S80 T6

AT VOLVO, WE'VE ALWAYS FOUND SAFETY EXCITING. AND WITH THE VOLVO S80, MANY SHARE OUR VIEW OF COURSE. PASSIVE SAFETY (LIKE A WHIPLASH PROTECTION SEATING SYSTEM AND FULL-LENGTH INFLATABLE SIDE CURTAINS) IS JUST HALF THE ATTRACTION. ACTIVE SAFETY (OUR HELP FOR OUTSTANDING AGILITY, POWER TO SPARE AND A VERY INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ROAD) CAN HELP YOU AVOID ACCIDENTS. EVEN THE S80'S SEXY STYLING HAS A VERY SENSIBLE PURPOSE — IT MAKES THE CONCEPT OF SAFETY VERY ATTRACTIVE INDEED.

VOLVO
for life

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Editor

A very special breed of Canadians

Nobody needed a poll to know that Ricky Wong was happy. Dapper in a handsome black tuxedo, the 28-year-old beamed and bugged his way around a glittering fund-raising banquet for the Special Olympics last week in Toronto. And why not? Wong, who competes in softball, floor hockey, swimming and tennis bowling, had spent the evening basking with the likes of former Maric McBeau and Jean Beliveau, the classic act to skate in the real shrine of hockey. The pillars of stats had donated their time to attend the 17th annual Special Olympics Celebrity Festival for the Special Olympics, one of 10 events that have raised \$1.4 million for participants this year. "This," said Wong, who surveyed legendary jockey Sandy Hawley at the Montreal table, "is the happiest night of my life." Another athlete asked Los Angeles Dodger Shawn Green who he was and what sport he played. When the former Blue Jays outfielder said his sport was baseball, he replied: "Mine too."

Such unaffiliated friendship is a hallmark of a very special breed of Canadians. The word handicapped is a misnomer. Outrightly excluded from the mainstream, these special persons inspire with the ease of their participation, their unqualified affection and their burning commitment to their goal.

It is a good thing to spend time with the Rick Wongs of the world. They remind us of basic values, such as

extending a hand to those who need support and not getting too carried away with our own vicissitudes.

A different assemblage comes from the annual Macdonald poll, again the year's partnership with *The Magazine* on CBC-TV and the thoughtful follow-up *The Strategic Counsel*. After 16 years of surveys, pollster Allan Gregg and his colleagues have generated one of the most comprehensive databases on the shifting mood of the nation

of the p.p. Canadian women are clearly seeking an independent course on such issues as free trade (more negative than men), social policy (more on national) and the Canadian identity (more committed to saving it). Canadian women are more concerned nationalists than their male counterparts, who are more ready to embrace U.S. values.

The task of overseeing this year's poll project went to Assistant Managing Editor Robert Marshall. He worked closely with Guelie Sabaria, associate art director, whose inspired design makes for a lovely 25-page package.

Art Director Nick Burnett and Senior Editor Bruce Wallace, meanwhile, teamed up to produce the engaging 20-page *Images '99*, a portrait in words and pictures of the year that was. The two reports, as well as the regular sections, were a superb team effort by the hard-working Toronto staff

and bureau members from Vancouver to Halifax and Washington. Ottawa Editor Bruce Wallace wrote the introductory year in review essay and a major piece for the poll package—then Friday started the holiday story on the government's referendum strategy. At Macdonald, the upcoming holiday break will be a welcome reprieve. Not that anyone is complaining. Ricky

available to the general public. His analysis of the trends since 1984 indicates that Canadians have come full circle to the confident, optimistic outlook they showed in the first poll. At the same time, there is a sense that we are becoming more like Americans and that, while we insist on the existence of a Canadian identity, we have trouble defining it.

One of the fascinating revelations in this year's survey is the depth of the gender gap in Canada. While the trends in the United States indicate a narrowing



Wong (center) with McBeau, Beliveau: his happiest night of my life



Robert Lewis

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The Mail

Infertility

I enjoyed reading the hopeful news for people who are unable to have desperately wanted children ("Midling babies," Cover, Dec. 6). Can you imagine the joy of spine-injured men who are now finding medical help in becoming fathers? One couple I know have their long-bipedic child, at last—twins, as it turned out. The parents are coping well, enjoying every moment of precious family life together, seldom thinking of the long arduous route that was necessary to achieve this miracle.

Marty Shultz, Thornhill, Ont.

As I read your article on reproductive technology, the following question occurred to me: why couldn't these infertile couples adopt a child? The child would be given a new lease on life, and the parents would have a child! It seems to me that this solution would reduce, if not eliminate, the need for unethical medical research.

Upper Meriden, Conn. 06454

Thank you for the thorough cover story I would like to respond to Ottawa fertility specialist Dr. Art Lander's comments that "there is nobody in Health Canada who has any experience with



these technologies, and they are not asking for advice." I have found quite the opposite to be true. I've met several officials who have a great deal of knowledge and experience with these issues, who have taken the time to consult with individuals and groups about their experiences

and concerns who have attended public conferences and seminars (as well as organized them), and who have been open to listening to all points of view. As well as studying in-depth Canada's own royal commission recommendations, they have also consulted extensively with experts from other countries and examined systems in other parts of the world. Still, our government officials have a very complex task ahead of them. It's time for everyone involved to stand behind them and work co-operatively together to create a system that is fairly balanced among the medical profession, the people and the government. More important, they must support a system whose priority is helping the new families created through new technologies.

Silvina Proulx, New Reproductive Alternatives Society, Nanaimo, B.C.

The depth of personal pain from infertility goes beyond words. Add to that the complexity of new and existing reproductive technologies and you have a recipe for a multi-layered serving of every debatable issue. If laws and regulations are so important for these treatments, why then is infertility not a worthy reproductive medical problem for political health-care coverage?

Janine Esposito, Executive Director, Infertility Awareness Association of Canada Inc., Ottawa

Human suffering

I am deeply saddened by the situation in Chechnya, where thousands suffer because of the choices of a few ("The train to nowhere," World, Dec. 6). Why is the world so silent at this time? Is it because Chechnya, unlike Kosovo, has no oil? Or is it because there is no danger of economic instability in the surrounding region, as was the case with Kosovo? While I am sure the situation is not easy to understand or address, surely the human suffering should cause us to respond. Although the United Nations assure us that Canada is the best place in the world, this does not give us the right to ignore those less fortunate. Where is the compassion? Why are we silent?

Renee Jernigan, Grande Prairie, Alta.

'Ramsay: resign'

Singlehandedly, Jack Ramsay has attracted not one, but two Canadian icons that are held in the highest of esteem—a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer and a federal member of Parliament. How can he at best, fail to resign his seat and still find at the public trough? He has been convicted by a jury of peer Canadians of attempted rape of a 14-year-old native girl ("Ramsay: the story of a Mountain," Canada News, Dec. 6). Does he understand that? Is that not enough for all Canadians never to hear of him again?

Paul D. Mylon, Toronto

The unity issue

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's recent decision to take the unity debate back to centre stage ("The scrapper's fight," Canada, Dec. 6) has both amused and pleased. On the minus side, the perennial downpouring pundits will no doubt be loath to rock the boat. They will wish he remained silent and, if they are frightened, hope the debate will be won by default or by the separatists shooting themselves in the foot. On the plus side, you have the effectiveness of a person

How far would you go to become someone else.



MATT DAMON
GWYNETH PALTROW
JUDE LAW

THE TALENTED MR. RIPLEY

CATE BLANCHETT

FROM ANTHONY MINGHELLA (THE SCREENWRITER AND ACADEMY AWARD WINNING DIRECTOR OF "THE ENGLISH PATIENT")

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DECEMBER

now willing to cede this debate horizon and to talk back to the apologists in a manner they have not been used to recently. The apologist case is based on misinformation and deceit and must be addressed on a logical front and also on an emotional front, in a manner so well protested by the Parti Québécois. In Québec, Canada has a person who is a Québécois and a staunch federalist, a contribution best suited to the unity cause. His tracer should be supported by all of us who wish to see this debate come to a finality, with the resultant removal of the prevailing uncertainty, once and for all.

Alfred Selman, In Board, Que

So Jean Chrétien couldn't help but to write the question for the next Quebec referendum: good that he is a hardliner I beg to differ. A hardliner might say: "You are not breaking up my country, Period." A hardliner might suggest that any individual who does not desire to be Canadian simply emigrate. A moderate might agree that this country can be divided by referendum, but only if each Canadian has a vote. Only a separatist or a fool would concede any one province the inflated right to decide.

Douglas Levesque, Victoria

Jesus and churches

The cover story "Jesus at 2000" (Nov 29) highlights the diversity of the Christian church in Canada. Unfortunately, the church has not always respected its own diversity. That is why the country-wide bell-ringing at noon local time on New Year's Day, to which you refer at the beginning of your article, is significant. It is a project of Together 2000, a historic five-point effort of the Canadian Council of Churches and the Ecumenical Fellowship of Churches, two groups that have not always respected each other, but who together represent most Christian traditions in Canada. Churches without bells are planning other kinds of joyful noises, including, aboriginal drumming come to music and north to the Arctic Circle, across by the inner-

city poor in Toronto, and thousands of others. Both are a traditional call to prayer, and in a world where divisions so often lead to bloodshed, these bells will signal a moment of peace, and goodwill within Canada's largest religious community.

Geoffrey McKinnon, Coordinator, Together 2000, Toronto

Your article ignores the fact that many Canadians (especially young Canadians) understand that all gods are male-believe and that religion is an insult to human dignity. With or without it, good people will do good things and evil people will do evil things.

Raymond Binsale, Karlsruhe, G.D.

As a retired Anglican clergman, I was disappointed with the title of your story "Jesus at 2000," which awakened high expectations. In fact, the article was not about Jesus but about churches. They have always been changing, and some have not survived change, but He is the same yesterday, today and forever.

Rev. Leonard Saffell, Toronto

In "Jesus at 2000," his name appeared just four times in a 10-page story and there is only one passing reference to what he stood for. And I challenge the assumption that Christian churches are alive with the spirit of Jesus in 2000.

Walter Kagan, Toronto

Jesus Christ and the commodity Tins Green ("Shocking Green," "Television") mentioned together on the cover of *Maclean's* is the clearest sign yet of the coming apocalypse.

Paul Mitchell, Waterloo, Ont.

I am responding to a letter from John Gericke who stated Christianity would not have to invent itself if prayers were answered once in awhile ("Christian challenge" *The Mail*, Dec. 13). Perhaps this gentleman is unaware that God does hear you when you pray and He also answers all prayers, but sometimes the answer is no. Could it be that Mr. Gericke is the one who is not listening?

JoAnne Thompson, Pickering, Ont.

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'Al's Ontario'

Shame on Dr. Foth. Surely he knows that his usually poignant cynicism relies on a modicum of detachment. His feelings about Ontario and its premier are far too personal to be of any critical value to his readers ("Beware: Milky's Ontario," Allan Fotheringham, Nov. 15). And, really, what Vancouverite would trade Hastings for Bay—even on a good day?

Harry McKinnon, Toronto

"Beware Allan's Ontario" is what we should be saying. I presume Fotheringham has enough knowledge of law that he would know that the proposed penalties for the licensing and obscuring offences now committed by squaggers, kids, drug users and hoodlums are maximums only imposed in conditions involving repeat or serious offenders. These days, you don't get six months in jail for offences with far greater consequences, even though the maximums for some of these are numbered in years. Are we to assume that even this mild, graduated form of penalty is not acceptable in Allan's Ontario? Is it intruding with dangerous and filthy things acceptable? Is intolerance and harassment all right as well? Ours is a beautiful city, one I'm tired of being madeless so by the gradual acceptance of antiaesthetic behaviour. For one, am angry when my wife and daughter are intimidated and frightened by these people on dark street corners. I'm tired of seeing used condoms and needles littering school grounds to be found by our children. What about the rights of the great majority of us who work each day and provide the tax base for social and other programs—and just want to go about our lives unhindered?

Michael Scoville, Oakville, Ont.

I congratulate Allan Fotheringham for laying the issues on the line. I totally agree with his statement that many of our elected officials with their "meant stars" should not be lined up with the likes of Alberta's Peter Lougheed, Saskatchewan's Tommy Douglas or even Quebec's René Lévesque. Where are our future standards? Then again, the claim "we get the government we deserve" once again rings

true. Perhaps, the voters of Ontario will become more aware of the government they have chosen.

Perry Kalyan, Vidor, Ont.

Get rid of the YOA

"Death of a dream" outlines the spectre of teen violence rampant on the beating death of Dimitri Bazonovsk (Canada, Nov. 29). The grand-sweeping outbreak of violence on television, at the movies and in video arcades is coming to its natural conclusion. With exposure to senseless violence coupled with the "license to kill" inherent in the Young Offenders Act, these acts of incidents are almost predictable. And, unfortunately, they will continue to escalate. This is, until a government with guts and foresight gets rid of the YOA. All the social analyses and politically correct words of the experts will do absolutely nothing to stop these thugs. They should be tried as adults, and some real teeth should be put back into our legal system.

Leah D. Jackson, Burnaby, Ont.

Raising fears

Once again, with no particular reason, Barbara Anand launched a savage attack on Islam and Muslims ("The Christian war against Islam," Nov. 22). The issue I want to highlight is her phrase "though the adversary of Christianity is Islam." I find that a clear invitation to violence towards me as a Canadian Muslim living freely in a Christian society. I wonder if, or one of my family members, get assaulted, do I blame the attacker or do I blame the media?

Amir Sami, Ottawa

Colours of freedom

It was with great interest that I read "Underground to freedom" (Letter from North Buxton, Nov. 28) about the origins of the black community that settled in the town of North Buxton, Ont. I spent my whole childhood within half an hour's

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drive of that village and only heard passing references to it. Finally, in October, I took the time to visit the museum, view the film, see the artifacts and visit the original schoolhouse that is waiting to be refurbished. It was a glorious autumn afternoon filled with the glowing oranges and yellows of nature, and I could only imagine how ecstatic we must have felt arriving at this safe haven.

Annette Linsch, Toronto

Farm-aid alienation

The article "Singer asks firms aid" (Canada News, Nov. 8) contains factual errors so large you could drive a Fleo Citi car needles through it. The much-noted \$900 million is not just for Prairie farmers, or for just one year. It is a rational program for the 1998 and 1999 crop years. Although Saskatchewan has one-half of Canada's farmland, Saskatchewan owns 24 of the '98 program's only 350,000 to \$100.7 million in date. Meanwhile, Quebec has already received a \$116.7-million date disaster under the program, no crops at all. It is obvious such is true that the firm of western alienation and separation. Use consumers wake up and realize their best interests are served by strong family firms, the corporate agenda will proceed unaltered, removing unwanted genetically modified organisms and hormones down the road. Eventually, all consumers will pay a heavy price for their lack of stewardship.

Don Voss, *Spiritwood, Sask.*

Chrétien's stand

Reading Anthony Wilson-Smith's column "Oscar's odd couple" (Backstage, Nov. 15), I was most annoyed at his generalizing "The Prime Minister's most headline stance is just line with most other Canadians." I would suggest percentages, but I feel that there are more Canadians who are sick and tired

of Chretien's stance towards French Canada. We are so fortunate to have a country of such diversity and the Prime Minister ought to be insistent in reconciliation rather than constant confrontation.

Phyllis Systems, Ottawa

Facing down Castro

Thanks to Bruce Wallace for pointing out the bravery and resultant modest success of the governor of Illinois, George Ryan, in facing down the obstinate Fidel Castro of Cuba ("A time for tough talk," Nov. 22). Foreign Minister Lloyd Austin, please take note.

John Marinelli, *Greedy, Cold*

'Interesting irony'

Regarding "A vanishing memory" (January, Nov. 15), about forgotten Canadian soldiers who fought in the South African War a century ago, and "When kids go hungry," the excerpt in the same issue from Mel Hunter's book *Pay the Rent or Feed the Kids*, about the persistence of poverty among Canadian children—I'm a Canadian, and I hang my head in shame.

R. S. Mantelero, Harrow, Ont.

I found the contrasting article "Tin breaks for techies?" (Corrado, Nov. 15) and the excerpt from Mel Huang's latest book an interesting study. If members of the Information Technology Association of Canada were not a tax break, why don't they consider making substantial charitable donations to a registered charitable organization that looks after the feeding of poor children? If such an organization is not in place, then they could put their considerable energy lobbying for a tax cut to better use by helping to set up such a charity. At the top tax bracket, a donation would probably save more than any tax cut, and do more good in the long run.

Molecular A. Shew, Calgary

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The Mail

Remember the victims

The Montreal Massacre should never be forgotten ("A stain that will not fade," Canada, Dec. 6). This heinous crime is unique in Canada's history as a blight on the love and respect we have for our fellow citizens. I still remember the horror that engulfed me the morning I heard of the massacre at the University of Montreal's École polytechnique. The one thing that gnaws at me each year, however, is that the media immortalizes the murders by continuing to name him. Just a time that we stop naming him and just refer to him as the cowardly perpetrator of a violent and senseless crime against innocent, defenceless women! Let us remember his 14 victims instead, and pray that we as a society will never forget their names.

David W. Hamilton, Cambridge, Ont.

What the media fail to comprehend is that Marc Lépine is not all Canadian men. He is the most representative of Canadian men that Karl Henselka (corrected of manslaughter in the death of two teenage girls in Ontario) is typical of Canadian women. Every year, the media and feminists lump all men in the same category as Lépine. Will they change their approach to this tragedy and finally understand that we men are not all Marc Lépine? Not so long as the media can use this tragedy to sell advertising and the feminists can exploit these 14 dead women to get government grants.

J. Kirby Inwood, Toronto

'A finite ranking'

Over the past five years in Winnipeg, I have been pory to the satisfaction at my own institution about our consistent middle-of-the-pack performance in *Maclean's* annual university rankings ("Measuring excellence," Cover, Nov. 15), and the writing and meaning in Winnipeg's other university, the University of Manitoba, about their consistent bottom-of-the-pole performance (this year being a notable exception). However, now that the University of Saskatchewan

has dropped a rank, I read an exhortation that Saskatchewan "does not receive the recognition it deserves" ("Universities," The Mail, Nov. 29). I have often heard University of Manitoba faculty and staff make the same sort of claim. I would like to remind everyone, regardless of the validity of the criteria selected and the accuracy of a finite set of institutions, someone has to be ranked last. Let's keep in mind that that doesn't mean the institution is a poor university, not that no one should enrol in it. Relative rankings have to be properly understood.

Norm Bell, Lecturer, University of Winnipeg
Department of Philosophy Winnipeg

Using such criteria as high entrance requirements and most assured profession, *Maclean's* continues to reward exclusivity and completely misses the mark in its ranking of Canada's universities. As someone who had a thoroughly enjoyable academic experience at the University of Manitoba (periodically ranked poorly by *Maclean's*), and is currently enjoying study at Hiyonon Polytechnic University in Toronto (another of your bottom-feeders, despite its overwhelming success in the reputation category), I have come to see the survey as little more than an ill-informed, poorly researched insult. Fifty-one weeks a year, *Maclean's* distributes an informative, relevant and well-crafted magazine. Every November, however, its elitist roots begin to show.

Clara Cope, Toronto

An artistic award

The article "Trade secrets" states that a silver box by Haida artist (BB) Reid "won the Sadye Brindman Award" (Cover, Oct. 18). In fact, the Sadye Brindman Award for Excellence in the Crafts is presented to an artist in recognition of the full scope of his or her work. In Reid's case, the jury considered a full artistic history and slides of major work dating back to the 1960s.

Stephen Inglis, Director General, Research and Collections, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Que.

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Editorial Update The Millennium Issue

Last summer Maclean's issued a challenge to its readers: bring us the stories of young people who deserve a spot on our 100 Canadians to watch list, in a special report to be featured in the magazine's year-end millennium issue. The names poured in — over 500 suggestions were received and considered by the magazine's editors. In the end, Maclean's 100 Canadians to Watch includes athletes, academics, entertainers, aspiring millionaires, community workers, computer wizards, and more — Canada's best and brightest, young minds. Maclean's is pleased to present this exciting portrait of talented Canadians in its special millennium issue, available on newsstands starting on **Monday, December 20**.

With 100 Canadians to Watch, Maclean's Millennium issue looks forward to our shining future. The second half of this special issue — the largest in being compiled — gives today's our peace past through the voices of people who lived through the events of the last 100 years. Magazine staff spent nine months searching out Canadians, famous and lesser known, who could share their stories firsthand — what it was like for a prisoner of war to see the flash of an atomic bomb; being reassigned, the first musician playing down against, once playing with jazz great Cab Calloway and scapular Kheng Phoe New's experience at being a Malaysian refugee camp for a new start in Canada. These and other real-life stories capture the sweep of changes, both significant and unimportant, that have shaped Canada over the last century.

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Newsstand Notes



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Opening Notes

Edited by Tanya Davies

Actor William Hutt gets a stamp of approval

Canada Post has a long-standing policy against honouring living people by using their images on its stamps. The one exception is the reigning British monarch—in this case, Queen Elizabeth II, who has graced many different stamps during her 47 years on the throne. But for its millennium collection—a series of 68 stamps selected to represent significant Canadian achievements over the past century—the post office bent its rules just a bit. The Stratford Festival stamp, one of two celebrating theatre, includes an image of the Shakespearean theatre's famous protruding stage, with William Hutt, one of Stratford's most distinguished and durable performers, hovering over it. "It is a festival stamp," says post-office spokesman Tim McGarrin, "and most people purchasing it probably won't realize who he is."

Perhaps. But 79-year-old Hutt has been around as long as the festival itself. He performed there in the 1955 inaugural



Here, the Stratford Festival stamp (below) honours the actor for a special collection



season and spent 34 of the next 45 years as a member of the company. He can do comedy just as well as tragedy, and at his peak in the 1970s often played as many as five major roles in a season. Now, on the cusp of 80, he is slowing down, but not retiring. Last summer, he appeared in just one production, portraying the vined Prospero in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. For its Stratford stamp, Canada Post used a ghostly image of Hutt as Prospero, with arms outstretched and a wistful expression on his ruggedly handsome face. Hutt may or may not be recognizable, but few who are familiar with his work would question that he is deserving. "He is amazing," says Stratford artistic director Richard Monette. "He's won all kinds of awards. It's fitting that we celebrate his accomplishments."

Weird and wacky

Strange and/or unusual crimes and professions aren't the only odd news items that you'll find. Below are some examples of the weirdest news stories of 1999.

• **A Tokyo teacher** was suspended for three months after ordering two of his students to commit *hara-kiri*. The teacher was taking the junior high school students on a camping trip and demanded that they commit ritual suicide after discovering their illicit supply of chocolate. The pupils refused to kill themselves.

• **A 25-year-old Toronto man** was arrested after being caught having sex with a chair-link fence. Police officers found the man with his pants down at his ankles grunting against a fence with, as one

officer described it, "a look of pleasure on his face."

• **Maasey, Ont.**, native Joseph Keyes was sentenced to 50 days in jail for sitting his corpse in a female nurse clerk's car. He was sentenced to an additional 10 days for shoplifting mouthwash, jelly beans and a soap pie.

• **After stopping for a few drinks** at a bar, a Zimbabwean bus driver found that the 20 mental patients he was supposed to be transporting had escaped. Not wanting to admit his incompetence, the driver went to a nearby bus stop and offered people in line a free ride. He then deluded the passengers to the mental hospital, telling staff that the patients were very excited and prone to bizarre fantasies. The deception worked



Buddy and Clinton's therapist

discovered for three days.

• **An Egyptian court** rejoined a charge of slander levelled at U.S. President Bill Clinton by an Egyptian man. Abdul Hamid Buddy complained that his family had become laughingstock because they share their name with the U.S. first dog, Buddy.

• **When Barbados** passport officer Rodney Carrington tried to enter the United States, his immigration officers at Miami International Airport he had nothing to declare. But they became suspicious after noticing that his pants had, at one office put it, "some ominous bulges in unusual places." Carrington was arrested after they found 55 10-cm-long, lead-filled condoms—an endangered species—stuffed in his pants.

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The official oddities book

The fascination of the *Gazette* browsing and media conglomerate world record books may not be for everyone. "It is predominantly a book women buy—and give to men," its publisher, Mark Young, dryly remarks. But there is no denying their success. Since 1955, more than 85 million copies have been sold, a record duly noted in the newest edition, *Gazette World Records 2000*. These curious about Canada's contribution to global pop culture may wish to note that Canadian entries span the spectrum. Some examples:

- The fastest time for 100 runners to cover 100 miles was recorded by the Canadian Military Athletic Club at Toronto's York University; seven hours 35 minutes 55.4 seconds.
- Luthien (master Kevin Foss, 36, of Gabeong, Ont.), holds the record for



Young Canadians hold a number of world records in the latest edition

pulling a 16-ton flat truck 100 feet in the fastest time: 39.69 seconds

- Doug Hunt of Bradford, Ont., holds the honour of being the softwalk champion: 24 pages while wearing 50-foot, five-inch stilts
- An Alberta woman who goes by the name of Kristyne Kolodoff claims the record for female tattoo coverage: 95 per cent of her body.
- Unfortunately, Vancouverite Mike Mazza's five-foot record for squaring, milk from the rear duct in his eye was broken by American Jan Chichan in 1998. Better luck next year.

Passages

Appointed: Businesswoman Lois Hole, 64, as lieutenant-governor of Alberta, and former Saskatchewan Liberal leader Lynda Haverstock, 51, as lieutenant-governor of that province by Prime Minister Jean Chretien. When the two new appointees take office next year, Canada will have five female lieutenant-governors.



New appointees Hole, Jeffery Haverstock

Died: Rock and Roll Hall of Fame member Rick Danko, 56, a singer and bassist with the Woodstock-era group The Band, apparently dying in his sleep at his home in Woodstock, N.Y. Born in Seneca, Ont., Danko left school at age 14 to play in rock 'n' roll groups. He formed The Band with Levon Helm, Garth Hudson, Robbie Robertson and the late Richard Manuel in 1968. After seven albums, the group broke up in 1976, and Danko went on to a solo career.

Died: Big Ben, 23, the internationally renowned show-jumping horse who retired with two World Cup titles in 1994, after a bout of colic, in Perth, Ont.

Disclosed: By Philadelphia's *Philly.com* coach Roger Nelson, 65, who he has been cancer. The Toronto-born Nelson, who has coached a record seven NHL teams, said he would continue to lead the bench while receiving three months of chemotherapy and a bone marrow transplant. Doctors said he has a good chance for successful treatment.

Died: American boxer Stephen Johnson, 31, from a brain injury after being knocked unconscious during a New 20 bout in Atlantic City, N.J. Johnson, who was on medical suspension after a CAT scan revealed abnormalities following an April knock in Toronto, was on his fight in South Carolina, Georgia and, ultimately, New Jersey.

Best-Sellers

Fiction	Weeks last week
1. A GOOD WIFE , Ruth Rendell (H)	2
2. BLINDFALL AFTER , Neil Gaiman (D)	2
3. NO-ONE WOULD BE THERE (H)	2
4. SECOND WIND , S. D. Finkel (H)	2
5. THE LINE , Michael Ondaatje (H)	2
6. THE LINE , Michael Ondaatje (H)	2
7. THE LINE , Michael Ondaatje (H)	2
8. THE LINE , Michael Ondaatje (H)	2
9. THE LINE , Michael Ondaatje (H)	2
10. THE LINE , Michael Ondaatje (H)	2
Nonfiction	
1. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2
2. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2
3. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2
4. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2
5. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2
6. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2
7. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2
8. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2
9. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2
10. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (H)	2

Deadly history

High Hailday's Murder Among Gentlemen (Robert Bresson) provides a lively history of duelling in Canada from early New France up to the heyday in the 1840s. Underwritten by surely enforced laws, members of the legal and political establishments—

including future chief justices and Fathers of Confederation—often sought satisfaction in duels. Actual fights may have had little effect on the course of history, but one challenge had potential. In 1849, legislative debate over the contentious Rebellion Losses Bill grew so raucous that Tory John A. Macdonald challenged Grit William Blake. But the anguished-as-scorpion managed to collar Macdonald in time to ensure he would still be around to become Canada's first prime minister 18 years later.



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Mobsters swipe away the savings

Canadians are among the world's biggest users of debit cards, with more in circulation—34 million—than the population. But a crackdown on Euro European mobsters in those Canadian cities has led to a new warning from the RCMP: watch where you swipe. In a Toronto raid, police literally stumbled upon three stolen credit-swiping machines that had been rigged to magnetically record a user's personal identification number. No more need for cooks to look over someone's shoulder at the checkout counter, or train a Peeping Tom camera at the PIN pad. An arm swipe by a crooked operator and mobsters have all the information they need to create a duplicate card and clean out a bank account. "This is the first time we've seen anything like this in North America," says RCMP commercial crime section Sgt. Good Jensen.

While the Mounties aren't sure these machines have actually been used anywhere, they describe their discovery as "a wake-up call."

Debit-card fraud is the poor cousin of credit-card fraud, which last year cost Canadian banks \$162 million. It differs, too, in that banks aren't necessarily responsible for debit losses unless customers can prove they were clearly the victims of fraud—a 200 Montreal raid last July when they were scanned by a hidden camera. Neither the police nor the banks can offer answers on debit fraud, though Jensen's mobsters were probably 15 to 20 cases in Toronto in the past year.

Banks are currently designing new security measures that should make copying more difficult. But those are at least three years away, giving mobsters plenty of time to debit other people's dollars.



Barbara Amiel

Fighting over a six-year-old

Elian Gonzalez, five years old, clung to an inner tube for two days in the Atlantic sea. His grandfather, it is said, had wedged him inside one of two inner tubes towed behind the small boat trying to make the 145-km trip from Cuba to Florida. Elian saw his mother drown and his grandfather fade away. All 13 of his fellow passengers in the capsize boat disappeared and all but two of them drowned.

Elian saw the sun set and then darkness. He saw the sun rise and nothing but empty water. Just the sea and the boy hanging on to an inner tube. How miraculously the child gripped that piece of rubber, all that he had to defend himself is something other than the sea. How he must have concentrated on what the government had told him to do before they all went somewhere else. And so it was that Elian came to America on Thanksgiving Day, an island when two kids fishing off the coast of Florida spotted an old inner tube out there and knew—as if kids do—that inner tubes are worth checking out.

Elian, child of divorced parents, has lost his custodial parent. His father, who, if fit, should now be given custody, is in Cuba. In a two-hour speech last week (short for Fidel, who favors five-hour *languages*), Castro demanded the boy back and organized thousands of demonstrators, including one particularly grotesque march of 2,000 grandmothers. His performance was an intense version of early Castro, threatening the United States with unspecified danger if they did not return the child within 72 hours and speaking of Florida judges as "imbeciles and venal, corrupt to the very marrow of their bones."

In Florida, Elian plays with his new birthday gifts, having celebrated his sixth birthday with relatives of his father who now have temporary custody of him. The father, a dissident at a resort hotel outside Havana, has been critical with contradictory statements. His relatives in Florida say he told them over the telephone that he was pleased Elian would be in America. Now, he has appeared on Cuban TV supporting Castro's position: "I am confident," he said, "that our country, our revolution, our commander will do everything in his power and we'll have him home soon."

My political instincts are split down the middle. I abhor tyrannies and think any child must be better off in the United States than in one of the world's last Stalinist states. But equally, I respect the right of a parent to decide what is best for their child. The politicization of this case by both sides obscures the danger of letting the state, rather than the parent, make the decision of what is in Elian's best interests. But while I would take a parent's word as paramount, I wouldn't take Castro's word for the parent's. The parent's word has to be freely spoken.

With a child of such tender age, any American family court judging a custody application would normally send him to the surviving parent provided that parent could *afford* the cost of his fitness—meaning that he was not insane, alcoholic or delinquent. His father may well wish to bring up Elian in Cuba. The court may wish to advise him that he may not be doing the best thing for his child, but that is the father's business. Except for this—the father has to be in Florida. No statement made long-distance from a tyranny such as Castro's Cuba can be viewed as free and admissible in a proper custody proceeding. (For those Canadians still living in a state of Cuban bliss, they could do worse than start by reading the 1999 Human Rights Watch report on Cuba.)

The lawyer for the relatives in Florida wishing to persuade the court to keep Elian in the States might offer the most powerful *de facto* legal statement the mother could have made in any such hearing—the gap up her life to bring her son to the United States. But this sacrifice has dark implications. What parent takes a five-year-old child into the open sea, exposing them to such danger? The mother's act was reckless and while I wouldn't presume to judge it, I could not have done it for all my love of liberty.

President Clinton has said "the law will decide what is in the best interests of the child." His words are ambiguous. It is a motherhood statement, but may mean that the U.S. immigration authorities will subordinate a political decision for the judgment of the child's parent. The additional problem with this case is that to date no family court application has yet been made for a hearing. Both Castro and the boy's anti-Castro relatives in Florida seem fearful of losing the boy if they apply for custody through the courts rather than courting on political pressure to give him to them. And then the sub "Politics" should not be a substitute for the judgment of a fit parent. The mere fact that a parent is a communist or a Nazi should not deprive him of parental rights. All of us could be enticed under such a principle. The state would be able to disenfranchise us at will, simply deciding, *inter alia*, that permitting Christians, Muslims, vegetarians or New Age adherents are to be regarded as irrational people whose judgments can be disregarded and replaced by the wisdom of our rulers.

Elian's mother sacrificed her life for her child. Elian's father may well sacrifice his own liberty to bring up his son among family in Cuba. I cannot judge the merit of their actions. But I can judge one aspect of what is good and what is bad in this matter: bad is to let the state decide for any of these three human beings—dead mothers, enslaved fathers and the six-year-old survivor—what is in their own best interests.

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The Vanishing Border

By Chris Wood in Vancouver

Once a week, the silver and black 18-wheeler pulls away from the Canada-U.S. border at Hiale, Wash., south of Vancouver, B.C., into the Kenworth up through the gears and points its wheels into the air. It's a 53-year-old Robert Brooks of Cranston, R.I., who's been driving the truck for 30 years. He's 65 years old, and he's been driving the truck for 30 years. He's 65 years old, and he's been driving the truck for 30 years.

Brooks, one of 1,200 Canadians who participated in the 1999 Maclean's/CBC poll, admits to an anti-American streak. Asked to describe our continental neighbors in one word, he said "arrogant"—the word most often used by all Canadian surveyed. But ask Donna Brooks if she would be willing to become one of those Americans and the answer comes just as quickly: "In." That view is also widely shared—one Canadian poll respondent in four would willingly take up American citizenship. And nearly one in five says it would be a good idea for Canada to simply lower the flag and join the United States as a single nation.

The 16th annual Maclean's year-end poll once looks back over the previous findings (page 26) and examines one sense of identity (page 32), the issue of entrepreneurship (page 48) and, as always, the art lives of Canadians giving up on the Maple Leaf?

Always elusive, the national identity has arguably never been more under attack. Globalization is eroding our leaders' power to manage the Canadian economy. The 500-channel TV universe and the World Wide Web have breached the cultural levees put in place by decades of federal policy. And 10 years into free trade, Canada and the United States are more than ever like a single market. Meanwhile, Ont., electronics technician Victor De Oliveira speaks for many poll respondents who believe it is only a matter of time before the border vanishes entirely. "We've given up so much already, we consider ourselves the 51st state," the 34-year-old father of one says. "Political union just seems like an inevitability."

Many in the poll seem to justify this prediction. Fully half of Canadian respondents believe Canadians have become more like Americans in the past decade. Ottawa issues. Canadians already differ less from their American neighbors than they often imagine. In all, nearly one Canadian in three surveyed agrees, like De Oliveira, that within the next 25 years Canada and the United States will become one country—even if they oppose the idea.

But don't count Canada out. Beneath the surface, the responses from either side of the border point to deep differences of outlook and values. More than that, they suggest that the core virtues that Canadians have traditionally embraced—open-minded tolerance for other points of view, belief in a measure of equity between the advantaged and the less so, a history bold on negotiation rather than coercion—are still very much alive above the 49th parallel. So, too, is the determination of the great majority not to throw in the towel on what scholars have dubbed the "Canadian experiment."

Our differences from Americans are not always the ones we expect, however. It may not be surprising that almost as many Canadian respondents consider "the preservation of traditional family values" very important (33 per cent) as do Americans (36 per cent), although the phrase may carry a more overtly political burden in the United States. It is more startling to discover that, despite

Half of Canadians say we are becoming more American; one in four wants a U.S. passport

what many Canadians deplore as an out-of-control U.S. gun culture, American respondents are almost as likely to favour gun registration (75 per cent) as Canadians (80 per cent). And Canadians (especially women) feel no safer on their streets than Americans. 32 per cent of Canadians surveyed say they "would not walk at night alone" in their community, virtually a tie with the 33 per cent of Americans who say the same thing.

Another key question suggests Canadians are far less likely to entertain the idea of adopting the U.S. dollar as our currency than are the Liberais in Ottawa. Canadians surveyed are evenly split over a common North American currency—44 per cent in favour, 42 per cent against. Donna Brooks, the long-distance trucker, is one who backs the idea. As a reward, she says, "we'd pad in Canadian dollars but all our expenses are in U.S. dollars. I think we would be better off with one dollar."

The proportion of Canadians who say they would accept an opportunity to become a U.S. citizen is consistent—between 23 and 26 per cent in every region except Quebec, where it rises to nearly one in three. But the question reveals a dramatic gender gap: men are nearly twice as likely as women (34 per cent to 18 per cent) to want U.S. citizenship. Quebec, meanwhile, is also where support for political union with the United States, erasing the border entirely, finds the most support among Canadians surveyed: 28 per cent compared with the national average of 19 per cent.

Shared values, conflicting values

Percentage who agree	Canada	U.S.
The preservation of traditional family values is very important	33	36
All guns should be registered	80	75
No one has the right to impose their morality on others	60	70
It is acceptable for cops to teach school	66	56
We are allowing too many immigrants in	40	58
There is a hell	46	73
Marriage can should be legalized	45	29
I would not walk alone at night in my community	32	33

very poor" notion, another quarter, nearly a "poor" one. And here is a paradox. Half of all Canadians surveyed believe they have become more like Americans over the past decade. When asked whether they feel the same as or different from Americans, they are evenly divided. 49 per cent say "the same," 49 per cent "different." But look at what Canadians were saying a decade earlier. In a Maclean's poll conducted in late 1989, 56 per cent of respondents described Canadians and Americans as "essentially" or "fairly" the same. Only 43 per cent said they were different. So Canadians, it appears, now feel

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now different from Americans than they did a decade ago. Interestingly, Americans also feel our differences are growing. In 1989, 78 per cent of U.S. respondents described the two nations as "mainly" or "intensely" the same. In 1999, that has slipped to 71 per cent.

In the huge shadow of America, it may seem inappropriate to apply the word "patriotism" to a Canadian emotion. But it seems most Canadians know exactly what Doran Preble means about crossing the border. Ninety per cent of Canadian respondents assert that their country has "a unique identity, separate and different from all other countries in the world." Seventy-seven per cent dispute the idea that the national identity is "nothing more than a desire not to be American." In fact, they say, it is made up of many ingredients, including the nation's history, the accomplishments of its people and, at least as much as any other factor, the Canadian flag.

And we are still a more accepting society. It shows modestly in our attitude

to newcomers, with Canadians surveyed being significantly less likely than Americans to say their country has too many immigrants (49 per cent compared with 58). Only in British Columbia, where

last summer's horde of illegal migrants may be behind the strongest anti-immigrant sentiment in Canada, does the level (at 54-per cent) approach the U.S. average.

On other issues, the shift in perspective at the 40th parallel is even more striking. While 68 per cent of Canadian respondents consider it "acceptable" for gay people to be teachers, only 56 per cent of Americans agree. The gap is greater on the question of whether marijuana should be legalized: 65 per cent of Canadian respondents say it should, just 29 per cent of the Americans agree.

But the most dramatic difference is revealed by what some might consider a larger issue. In Canada, 29 per cent say they believe "strongly" in the existence of hell. Among Americans, this conviction is nearly twice as common, at 57 per cent. The cross-border difference is the largest on any question dealing with personal values. It goes hand in hand with another religious response. Asked how often they attend religious services,

Americans are almost twice as likely to say at least once a week (42 per cent) as Canadians (22 per cent).

Another question, which asked respondents to identify the most important issue facing their country, sheds further light on our respective national characters. In both countries,

Coming together...

Percentage of Canadians saying:

Canadians are becoming more like Americans **50**

Canadians are becoming less like Americans **18**

...or going our separate ways?

Percentage of Canadians saying Canadians and Americans are mainly the same:

1989 **86**

1999 **49**

Constant craving

Percentage of Canadians saying they would take an opportunity to become a U.S. citizen:

1989 **27**

1999 **26**

Americans don't expect union...

Percentage responses in both countries on the likelihood of Canada and the United States becoming one nation in the next 25 years:

	Likely	Not likely
Canada	32	60
U.S.	31	77

... but like the idea better than Canadians do

Percentage responses in both countries on the wisdom of becoming one:

	Good idea	Poor idea
Canada	31	60
U.S.	34	43



the largest number of respondents (31 per cent of Canadians, 39 per cent of Americans) identify social or moral issues as their most pressing concern. But close examination reveals telling differences in how respondents define those issues. Among Americans in that group, 31 per cent identify their country's biggest problem as "moral decline" or "permissiveness." A further six per cent say the biggest problem facing the United States is either a shortage of religion ("We need Jesus back in America," says Linda Harrison, a 35-year-old homemaker from Broken Arrow, Okla.) or abortion, homosexuality or adultery—all issues which preoccupy conservative Christians.

In Canada, moral decline, religious erosion, adultery, abortion and gay rights are barely mentioned, combined, they are the top issue for less than one per cent. Instead, nearly half of

respondents who identify social or moral concerns as this country's most pressing issue cite health care. Another fifth points to services for the poor, the young and the elderly.

One thing has changed over the decade: Americans who participated in the latest Maclean's poll are far less interested in taking *Caneshen* citizenship than the Americans in a similar poll 10 years earlier. Then, 42 per cent expressed a willingness to become Canadian. This time, the figure falls to 25 per cent (equalling the number of Canadians interested in U.S. citizenship). Canadians should probably not take it personally: it likely reflects U.S. satisfaction with a robust economy and world stature, rather than interest in Canadiana.

And there are exceptions. Mary Knacknack, an environmental educator in Pierce County, Wash., west of Seattle, says she might be persuaded to make a Canadian passport. Having travelled to British Columbia, she says she likes Canadian gun controls, medical care and the fact that there are "fewer people" there. But Knacknack says she never gave much thought to the two nations merging until she participated in the poll. "It is not something Americans talk about—ever," she says. "We assume Canadians would not want to do that. You'd have a kinder, gentler identity. I wouldn't want to lose it, if I were you."

For Donna Brooks, there is only one reason to accept an American passport: to participate in a suitcase country. "We drive to California every week," she says, "because that's where the mudslides go to die." At home, Brooks calls herself "a very loyal Canadian" who would much rather say one. If the last *Maclean's* poll of the 1990s offers any guide, there will be a Canada to claim her loyalty for many years to come, as well as a border unspanned by the stubborn differences between two very similar peoples. ☐

Americans say we are friendly. We think they're arrogant.

To know, know, know you, in the Canadian-American relationship, is not necessarily to love, love, love you. This year's poll asked Canadians and Americans to describe each other in one word. Canadians had more negative than positive descriptions for Americans. Americans were more often positive than negative about Canada—when they felt confident enough of their knowledge of Canada to associate any attribute at all with their northern neighbours. Some descriptions from both sides of the line, showing percentage of responses in their category.

Canadians on Americans:		Americans on Canadians:		Canadians on Canadians:		Americans on Americans:	
Arrogant or snobs	16	Friendly	29	Friendly or good	12	Friendly	12
Aggressive	8	Pooleful	1	Helpful or caring	5	Fire	3
Greedy or selfish	3	Poite	1	Laid-back or easygoing	4	Great	8
Ignorant	1	Helpful	1	Proud or patriotic	3	Hardworking	2
Not also:		Not also:		Not also:		Not also:	
Antifeminist	2	Respectful or human	4	Spreckles or weak	6	Greedy or money-grasping	7
Confident	2	OK	2	Passive or complacent	6	Arrogant	5
Innovative or smart	1	Arrogant	1	Condescending	2	Aggressive or pushy	1
Hardworking	1	Cold or unfriendly	1	Nerve	1	Rude or insensitive	1
Overall negative	36	Overall positive	40	Overall negative	13	Overall positive	36
Overall positive	34	Overall negative	3	Overall positive	41	Overall negative	23
Neutral	13	Neutral	19	Neutral	21	Neutral	12





Montreal's Canadiens face the Kings in L.A. Canada means hockey, race, winter

Benign Neglect

By Andrew Phillips in Washington

The story goes like this: police near Los Angeles find a woman wandering aimlessly alongside a highway. She doesn't remember who she is or where she's from. The only clue police have is that she's very polite—so polite that they conclude she must be Canadian. They send a bulletin to police departments across Canada, and sure enough, she turns out to have vanished from her home in Edmonton a few weeks earlier.

Mystery solved—and a national stereotype once again enshrined. Canadians, as seen by Americans, are so relentlessly nice that it amounts to a collective ring shot. Calgary writer Will Ferguson relates the story of the errant Canadian in *Why I Hate Canadians*, his audacious dissection of our national traits and delusions. And the *Macdonald/CBC* survey tells a similar story. The most common word that comes to mind when Americans are asked to describe Canadians is friendly. After that,

they offer a list of bland but mainly positive adjectives: neighbors, normal, OK—even human.

All the evidence, in fact, confirms what Canadians have long suspected—that while Americans may not know a lot about Canadians, what they do know they like. Yet after you, as cross-border cruises flare up and the may, so presidents and prime ministers come and go, they manifest the same galling combination of specific ignorance and general good feeling towards Canada—what has

been dubbed benign neglect. The Gallup polling firm recently asked Americans to rank how they feel about various countries. At the bonus, not surprisingly, came Sweden. Hussein's Iraq with a 59-per-cent unfavorable rating. Right at the top, just ahead of Britain, came Canada, with a whopping 90-per-cent favorable. A scarcely measurable three per cent had a negative view of Canada.

But is that enough for Canadians? Of course not. They may like us in a vague kind of way, goes the national lament, but they take the time to really, truly get to know us? Sadly, no. Dumb, naive, politically naive Americans can fill often when asked about their closest ally and biggest trading partner. The foreign affairs department organized focus groups in Baltimore and Atlanta last summer, bringing together Americans who have actually attended a political meeting or worked for a candidate, to find out what they know about Canada. The findings were not encouraging. Even those knowledgeable enough to name Canada came up with the most clichéd associations with Canada—things like snow, hockey, winter and, yes, nice people. On specific issues, the majority response with respect to Canada was typically "Don't know."

Canadians, though, take a perverse pleasure in how little Americans know about us. There's no easier way to raise yucks among Canadians than mocking the inept Yankee Rick Mercer of *This Hour Has 22 Minutes* makes a running gag of asking Americans about Canada and then broadcasting the most ridiculous answers. A columnist for the *Edmonton Star*, Kerry Dineen, ran a contest in early December called Yankee Doodle Dandies, in which he asked readers to send in their favorite encounters with "knowledge-challenged" Americans. The result: scores of stories ranging from an American woman who wanted to buy a Canadian flag but only if she could get it in purple, to the ever-popular (and surely apocryphal) tale of the hopeful U.S. tourist arriving at the border in July with skin stretched to the car roof. Always good for a laugh.

There's no mystery why Americans are so ill-informed. Margaret Atwood once noted that the 49th parallel is less the world's longest undefended border than at biggest one-way mirror. We look down on them—constantly and obsessively. But, writes former U.S. ambassador James Blanchard in his recent memoir of his tenure in Ottawa, *Behind the Embassy Door*: "When we look north, all we see is a reflection of ourselves." No wonder the *Macdonald* poll finds that fully 71 per cent of Americans think Canadians are essentially or mainly the same as them. Americans mean that as a sincere compliment. Canadians, of course, often take it as an offensive denial of their distinct identity.

The less dramatic but truer answer is that Americans generally know so much about Canada in they need to. Businesspeople with dealings in Canada; diplomats and academics with a professional interest; ordinary folk who live along the border—all tend to know a fair amount. People in Georgia or Texas, say, quite naturally know a lot less. No need to be offended: the United States is so enormous that Americans are often quite ignorant about each other. And Americans don't have to leave home to encounter odd places populated by bizarre people. They already have Minnesota and Alaska, who needs Manitoba and British Columbia?

The problem, of course, is that so many Canadians, including those who profess to disdain the Yanks, desperately want Americans to take an interest, to really get to know us. It is, writes Will Ferguson, "a classic love/hate obses-

sion." Ferguson proposes these five propositions of Canadian nationalism in regard to Americans:

1. Boy, we hate Americans
 2. We really do
 3. Really
 4. I'm not kidding. We really hate them
 5. So how come they never pay us any attention?
- Worse, he suggests, Canadians take a misused sense of pleasure in being ignored by the object of their obsession. Why else do they keep putting with their six dollars to ask Americans, "So what do you really think about us, eh?" Why else do Canadian newspapers fuss over every offhand comment about Canada by an American academic or junior official? Canadians, says Ferguson, "love to be misunderstood and unappreciated"—especially by big, strong Americans. "The problem is not that America is screwing us daily—which they are—but that they never send flowers or call afterwards."

It's not only Americans who are convinced that Canadians are congenitally nice, Canadians take that in an article of faith. The result is the famous Canadian smugness, the conviction that graceful, public-spirited Canada is morally su-

Americans really don't know very much about us, but then, why should they?

perior to aggressive, capitalist America. Even Americans with a special fondness for Canada often find that hard to take. Tom Brune, co-chairman of Canadian studies at the University of California at Berkeley, moved his family back to old Loyalist stock in Nova Scotia, but runs of comments about Canadian superiority. "Canadians can frankly be very self-righteous and arrogant," he says. "There's this suggestion that greed and aggression are so American—as if they are unknown to Canada. It can be irritating."

Burns agrees. Americans don't know much about Canada, but he wonders why Canadians seem convinced that's a bad thing. "When Americans are more knowledgeable about a country they often take a dimmer view of it," he says. "The situation now is pretty good for Canada. And if it isn't broke, why fix it?" Why indeed—except for Canada's eternal craving to be noticed by the big boy next door. ■

Q: Are Canadians and Americans the same or different?

	CANADIAN RESPONSES (%)		AMERICAN RESPONSES (%)	
	1999	1998	1999	1998
Essentially the same	13	6	18	19
Mixing the same but with some small differences	43	43	60	52
Mainly different but with some small similarities	24	24	18	12
Essentially different	19	26	6	6

Coming Of Age

After a rough ride, Canada's mood has returned to the confident outlook found in 1984's first year-end poll

By Allen R. Gregg

Today, most people accept that to understand individuals fully, you must put their adult behaviour in the context of their childhood and adolescent experience. Their experiences structure their outlook and create a prism through which adults view their world. The same process holds for a nation. As we look upon the abyss of 2000 and ask "What awaits us?", it is useful to look back and ask other critical questions: "How did we get here, and how do we see ourselves as a consequence of this journey?" Some powerful clues come from the 15 previous national polls that I and my associates have conducted for *Maclean's* since 1984. They document the organic evolution of our popular culture and provide a rare insight into the type of people we have become.

1984—Maclean's cover line declares "A confident nation speaks up"

Palpably relieved to be rid of the Trudera legacy, 79 per cent of Canadians express optimism about the future. "We recognize that the country, and perhaps even the next generation, face problems (unemployment), but view them as solvable aberrations. Newly elected Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's classic oil that Canada can be great again strikes a responsive chord. Fully 50 per cent of respondents say they turn to government to look after their best interests."

1985—"A disquieting mood"

Concerns over the economy are combined with the first murmurings of doubt about the notion of free trade. The number of Canadians looking to government to solve their problems drops to 42 per cent. The poll uncovers a growing anxiety with a government focused on trade and the deficit—concerns the public does not share.

1986—"A volatile national mood"

The study finds a population shuddering at idealism—questioning whether our problems indeed are solvable—in favour of pragmatism. A quarter of respondents express concern about the government's preoccupation with free trade. While still optimistic about the future and satisfied with their personal situations, Canadians are disengaging from the political process and turning more inward, towards family and local community. Much of the analysis centres on a growing cynicism and concludes that we are on the threshold of profound change.

1987—"How we see ourselves"

The stock market crash signals for many the end of prosperity as a bangle. Concern over AIDS surfaces for the first time. The top issue is free trade, as disaffection with Mulroney's early steps solidifies. Canadians still hold out hope for the future

but are losing faith in the solutions put forward by their leaders, and in their leaders themselves.

1988—"A spotlight on Canadians"

The poll suggests a made awakening for Canadians. Underlying worries are more acute and multifaceted than ever before. Concerns now include crime, rising racism, violence against women, AIDS and even the quality of drinking water. The "brewery" of these problems brings an urgency to the question of what kind of future we face. "We conclude that a crash of expectations is imminent as Canadians come to recognize that, as individuals and as a nation, we cannot shelter ourselves from a changing world."

1989—"An uncertain nation: Canada at a crossroads"

Little happiness is expressed over the re-election of the Mulroney government, as problems are seen to deepen and become more entrenched. Taxes and the new GST top the pop-

ulation's concerns. Free trade—the cornerstone of the Mulroney re-election—is associated with job losses. The Meech Lake accord adds to the public's focus inward on government-inspired constitutional issues at a time when Canadians are concentrating on acute personal problems and looming global crises. Mulroney concludes that the poll "exposes deep and even bitter divisions among Canadians, not only over their definition of Canada and what it should be, but also between language groups and regions." Government is now seen not as solving national problems but as making an uncertain world worse.

1990—"A shaken nation bares its anger"

"The rift between Quebec and English Canada has widened dangerously," Mulroney writes. "Canadians as a whole are suffering from a massive loss of confidence in politicians and in the political system itself." For the first time, a greater number of respondents are less rather than more proud to be a Canadian than a decade before. "We conclude that the 'mood is grim and, politically, it reeks of anarchy.' The findings, however, hint at what Canadians increasingly view as the antidote to 'systemic failure'—public consultation, as in the then-futuristic 'town-hall meetings'."

1991—"An action plan for Canada"

Reflecting the popular belief that politicians and political solutions are completely incapable of solving national problems, Mulroney organizes a citizens' forum. This wholesale

Treasured values

Percentage of Canadians saying Canada can thrive in the new millennium by keeping its own values and not trying to become more like Americans





MACLEAN'S/CBC POLL Overview

Social issues are driven by nontraditional sources of power—women, young people and society's have-nots

loss of faith is reflected in the highest levels of pessimism we have ever detected. In fact, as governments of every stripe and in every region align in an all-out effort to galvanize public support for their Charlottetown accord, Canadians report by a 3 to 1 margin that the recession is more important to them than constitutional reform. A new protest movement emerges in 46 per cent of Canadians say it is "likely" they will wear Reform

1992—"Hope in hard times"

With the defeat of the Charlottetown accord, the public's attention shifts back to the economy—the 64 per cent expressing concern in this area is the highest ever detected. The sense that "politicians just don't get it" deepens, but the poll finds that much of the political alienation is linked directly to economic dissatisfaction. Regarding not only their politicians but their solutions, Canadians are more prepared to entertain new solutions. We have come to accept that "the future is not what it used to be." We see a population rejecting both radical Conservative philosophy and the '80s notion that governments can solve problems on its own.

1993—"How we differ"

The year sees the return to Liberal government and the ascendancy of the Bloc Québécois in Quebec. Regional differences in the nation's issues agenda are

more pronounced than in years past—the West is increasingly concerned with government deficit and debt, while Central and Eastern Canada continue to be consumed with jobs and unemployment. Canadians seem to conclude that if no one is speaking for the national interest, "it is up to me to pursue my own."

1994—"Looking inward"

The poll reveals a sharp contrast between private satisfaction and public cynicism. "Meanwhile to minorities report a worsening of everything from health care (46 per cent) and the quality of living (47 per cent) to income disparities (60 per cent), the behaviour of young people (70 per cent) and violent crime (85 per cent). Yet Canadians also claim widespread satisfaction with their personal lives—relationships, families and even sex. There is a darker side—as one expert concludes "We are becoming a nation of greedy, amoral self-promoters."

1995—"Can Canada survive?"

The water-tight rejection of sovereignty in the Quebec referendum seems to fatigue English Canada and embolden Quebec. One out of three Canadians and one out of two Quebecers believe "the country will cease to exist by the end of the decade." The population is on the verge of concluding that those aspects of Canadian life that had given it a common sense of pur-

pose and character—opportunities for the next generation, the quality of our social programs and our national civility—will exist, if at all, only as pale imitations of what they once were. I conclude there are "the Blackout polling results" I have ever examined.

1996—"Future imperfect: Canadians are ready for fundamental changes in society"

Canadians, it appears, have concluded that governments simply is not an important force in their everyday lives. Asked which party has the best solution to their most pressing problem, 76 per cent say "none"—the opposition also are not more appealing than the government. Canadians finally seem ready to accept that "tough times require tough solutions." Their ability to weather the storms of the early '90s seems to give them confidence to find new solutions for the nation. For the first time, a sizable group (11 per cent) shifts its attention away from economic issues to social concerns.

1997—"A confident Canada: united by bedrock values—and a growing optimism"

Two years after just two per cent of respondents believed the deficit would be solved by 2000, 43 per cent feel it will at least be better in "the new five years." Rather than looking out at those who might threaten stability, Canadians show a remarkable tolerance, even an embracing, of diversity. Canada's youth, far from reflecting the greed and rancor of an early decade, give voice to a greater acceptance of differences. Aging baby boomers also report that their own quest for a more spiritual existence. But the population finds that the gap between rich and poor is widening.

1998—"Looking to the future: voices of tolerance"

We find that Canadians believe the "punchline" will remain down, yet feel that are increasingly adept at finding them out. Still, optimism of the end result, they are content to catch their breath and save their strength for future rounds. Canadians offer a more positive outlook for themselves and the nation. Anxiety over our social systems increasingly displaces economic concerns. The public appears to accept imperfect leaders for imperfect times. In short, all citizens Canadian seem more at peace with themselves, their leaders and their nation.

And now our 1999 year-end review in some ways comes full circle to our first cover line: "A confident nation speaks up." Newer per cent of Canadians claim we have a unique identity, separate and distinct from all other countries. Fully 77 per cent believe it is based on a strong sense of our own history and appreciation of what we have accomplished as a nation, rather than simply a desire not to be American. And with the close conviction, 81 per cent hold to the view that we can change in the next millennium by keeping our own values and not trying to become more like Americans. These powerful sentiments reflect a confident nation at ease with its unique self.

Yet we have also changed in profound ways. We have cast

off what now seems a laughably naive notion that our problems are eminently solvable aberrations. Now, we view them as complex, enduring and even intractable, but nonetheless manageable. In a phrase, the past 15 years caused us to grow up. And like an adult, while we may be less idealistic, outraged and invulnerable, we also feel wiser, more resilient and comfortable with ourselves. We have learned to appreciate who we are—even if we have difficulty defining our qualities. We are more confident today than any time in the past decade. We recognize problems will not go away simply because we wish them to.

Only a dawning few still turn to government to look after their best interests. But we no longer view governments as irresponsible force. Instead, we expect a balanced, pragmatic approach to problem-solving and look to government to arbitrate the public good when it comes in conflict with private interests. And while we acknowledge our increasing exposure to American influences and the threats therein pose, we show no signs of succumbing.

The trauma of recession shook us out of our complacency. Our loss of faith in traditional leaders and authority nudged us towards greater self-reliance. The failure of the tried-and-true forced us to entertain new approaches and solutions. Looking into the abyss of national disintegration created us to appreciate that what we had to lose.

Our national focus now turns, for the first time in at least two decades, to social concerns—to the quality of health care, to the future of education, to the plight of those for whom prosperity is elusive. These concerns are driven by nontraditional sources of power—women, young people and society's have-nots. This is a new dynamic. The issues of the past 15 years—free trade, the GST, constitutional reform and deficit reduction—have not emanated from public opinion. They were the concerns of governments, business and business leaders and those who shared the beliefs of those elites.

Now, the agenda is shifting. The demand for change comes from a constituency whose voice has rarely been heard in the '80s and '90s. And what it is demanding is not to ask ourselves what we want to become in the future, but what will we seek to preserve from our past.

Shifting priorities

Percentage citing various topics as "the most important problem facing Canada" over the years



Fingers on the pulse

There is no way we could draw the analysis we are presenting this year about Canada in the next millennium if we couldn't have at our service years of research.

—Allen Gregg, chairman, The Strategic Council

The main constant in 16 years of *Maclean's* year-end polls is Allen Gregg, who combines an inimitable candour about shuffling attitudes in Canada with a rare ability to pluck the subject trends



Sullivan (left), Gregg, 'trying to explain' news

from the mass of numbers generated in a complex national survey. For the first 11 years, Gregg conducted the poll with his associates at Toronto-based Decima Research. In 1995, he and three partners—Christopher Kelly, Michael Sullivan and Tim Woolverton—set up their own company to provide market

and public-opinion research services. As chairman of The Strategic Council, Gregg has continued to work closely with *Maclean's* editors to shape the national examination of the Canadian psyche. Sullivan, a partner at the firm, also plays a major role in the project, which, for the past five years, *Maclean's* has undertaken in partnership with CBC-TV's *The Magazine*. "We're not only trying to make news," says Gregg of his commitment to the national soundings, "we're trying to explain news."

Asserting Female Values

From social issues to sex, women are challenging male attitudes

By Carl Molnar

Traditional wisdom holds that the typical mind-set of the male of the species tilts towards money matters and associated numbers while the female focus is more often commensurate thinking about communal well-being. As many individual exceptions as there may be to these conventional notions, the latest *Maclean/CIBC* year-end poll lends them support—in numbers. The evidence turns up in poll responses that range from singling out the most important problems facing Canada and defining national values to more

growth or slow growth, more men than women (44 per cent vs 33 per cent) say they consider themselves better off financially than they were 10 years ago. The difference narrows somewhat in looking to the future: 40 per cent of men but only 34 per cent of women say they are at least a little more optimistic now than they were a decade ago.

On some questions, the gender gap vanishes. Two out of five men and women think Canada surpasses the United States in standard of living. And when asked whether Canadians have become more like Americans during the past 10 years, half of the poll respondents, regardless of gender, say yes. But on attitudes towards core morality values, women are stronger supporters of gay rights (by 88 per cent to 71 per cent) and in their readiness to accept gay teachers in the schools (73 to 63), but less inclined to approve of the legalization of marijuana (48 to 60).

Poll results indicate that women are decidedly more wary than men about relations with the Americans. Women are far more likely to men to be among the small minority who think Canada has gained more than the United States from the 10 years of free trade. Men are likewise doubly inclined to favour the Americanization of Canada, one in five compared with one in 10 women say the values of Canadians must become more American if Canada is to thrive. And more women than men say Ottawa should take a stronger line against Americanization. As for Canada becoming part of the United States, one-quarter of the male respondents but just one in seven women think that would be a good thing.

When sex starts to head in the survey, male-female differences reach chaste proportions—and prompt wry smiles. "What is really going on when 69 per cent of men but only 49 per cent of women claim to be sexually active? One answer may lie in differing interpretations of 'sexually active'." Similar reasons may be behind a finding that almost three times as many women as men (19 per cent to seven per cent) say they are "not sexually active at all." And varying privacy standards may explain why one out of five women—in contrast to only one in 10 men—did not opt in to the sex-survey question.

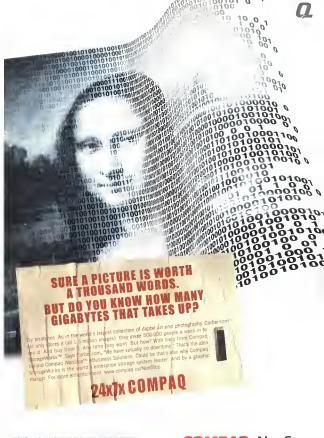
As for fantasizing about having sex, more than one-third of women say they never do. That is virtually the same as the proportion of males who say they indulge in fantasies either two to five times a day or 10 or more times a day. But then, 20 per cent of men and only 12 per cent of women say they have used erotic materials or sexual aids. For men, it seems, the toys and the imaginary encounters play a bigger role in the quest for better sex. ■



*A health-care rally in
Arbury, Mass., family
and community*

of the workaday world. As often, female answers reflect an empathy with family and community concerns, reinforced by an urbane but compassionate. And on matters relating to social activity, the gradates show definitely different attitudes.

Take the issues cited as the most important Canadian problems. Almost half the men (47 per cent), but less than a third of women (30 per cent), point to dollar-and-cent difficulties—unemployment, the economy, taxation, government debt and spending. Women, by a rate of two to one over men (60 per cent to 21 per cent), place priority on troubles besetting such social issues as health care, assistance to the poor and education.

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COMPAQ NonStop

What Makes A Canadian?

By Bruce Wallace

Come on people, is this the best we can do? Are Canadians really "spacious," which was one of the most popular responses when the *Maclean's/CBC* poll asked Canadians to choose one word to describe their companions? Tied at six per cent of responses was "polite." But do spacious and polite really describe a country that likes to boast how its hockey players may be a little short on skills but longer than an adult and gate? Is "laid-back"—another popular answer at four per cent—the way we react when the oil well runs out from our allies this year to fly bombing missions over Kosovo?

Sure, 12 per cent came up with "friendly"—the most popular choice of those who could come up with an answer. But you have to wonder whether our self-image matches our accomplishments. Was one of the world's great trading nations built on lack of resolve? Were those Canadian soldiers hitting the blackened remains of East Timor an example of "courageous"? That 15 per cent of respondents can't think of a single defining characteristic is astounding given the amount of breath our clustering classes have expended searching for the Canadian soul. ("A coalition of ideas based on an assumption of the public good," was one of author John Halden Smith's eloquent subtext, though hardly in one word.) Uncovering Canadian identity has not been just an obsession. It is probably the

defining characteristic of the place itself.

"There's still a strong sense of identity," says Allan Gregg, president of The Strategic Counsel, which conducted the poll. But Gregg agrees that Canadians don't seem to know exactly what it is that makes us so different or unique. "We don't seem to feel the need to define it," he adds. "It is some vague sense that, well, we've got our flag. And it's cold here. We're Canadian, damn it. Our difference is us."

Search a Canadian about what makes us the way we are

We're certain we're unique, but we don't seem to know precisely what sets us apart from others



To fight or to join?

What should the government do if Canada is becoming more American?

Do more to oppose the process	56
Do nothing and let things simply work themselves out	28
Do more to encourage the process	14

and you get a celebration of the obsession. The flag is the most important characteristic, according to 80 per cent of respondents—and it is arguably a patchwork composed with all those other forgettable coloured stripes. Tied for first place is the pride we take in Canadian

arts and sciences who have become prominent internationally (brought a country branded by the Maple Leaf and Shania Twain's belly button).

Smaller countries tend to show pride when their nationals rise to the top of the American-driven celebrity machine. But we are getting so good at it—see with Celine Dion and Sarah McLachlan and see how long the list grows—that it can be argued Canada now has a pretty fair star system of its own. Add to that the fame of such authors as Margaret Atwood and Michael Ondaatje, the Nobel achievement of economist Robert Mundell, the heroes of The Great One, Wayne Gretzky, among in many success stories, and Canadians are fairly bursting with national pride.

It is clear from the poll, however, that some self-doubt is at play. For example, 77 per cent of respondents say it is a wrong sense of our own history, rather than simply a desire not to be Americans, that defines us. This comes in a year when one of the top-selling books was Jack Granatstein's *After 150 Years: Canadian History*, which insists our great part of the national story. Another two-thirds answer that our standard of living is as good as or even higher than the American level. (In purely economic terms) that is just plain wrong. The '90s, in fact, have seen our living standards fall further behind the Americans. It is a lag that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien ignores in favour of cheerier statistics, like the UN human development index, which has placed us first among nations for 10 straight years. As Thomas d'Aquino, president of the Business Council on National Issues, notes: "We have a government in Ottawa that fails to grasp the gravity of the situation facing the country."

Yet the American economic model, with all its aggressiveness and hard-headed competitiveness, remains anathema to large swaths of Canadian society. Which is fine if you

How to keep Canada Canadian

Percentage of respondents who think that in order to maintain a strong Canadian identity in the next century, the following elements have to be greater

	Canada	Quebec	West	Westcoast
Canadian ownership of businesses operating in Canada	73	86	60	56
Our entrepreneurial spirit	53	90	64	82
Our willingness to take risks	73	81	78	69
The role of the provincial government in your province	65	73	62	66
The role of the federal government	90	89	96	82



Choices from left: Tina Turner, Michael Ansara. Does every Canadian associate the national identity with the success of our artists and athletes?



Ontario's Mike Harris sees merit in courting the Americans

want your country to be known in this new global economic jungle as a sort of 1960s-style hippie retreat, unsettled by the noise of an outside world in connection. But what will a third think of that? In a world that lives by images, nations can flounder unless they have a good one.

Listen to the warning from Ted Lyman, a senior vice-president at U.S.-based ICF Consulting, who was asked by a group of Ottawa high-tech business executives to study the region's prospects in the global economy. He reported back to them last month that the Ottawa high-tech sector lacks that "fire-in-the-belly, let's-be-the-ouch-on-a-new-company" spirit that has made California's Silicon Valley such a success.

Lyman said Ottawa's high-tech suburbs won't really take off until their entrepreneurs accept that failure is not a stain of shame to be hidden, but a badge of boldness.

Of course it is no longer takes an outsider to point out our shortcomings. A growing number of Canadians argue the "American Way" is not a disease that might infect us, but its introduction against economic decline. In a speech titled "Steering the Status Quo" delivered in Toronto last month, d'Aquino decried the shortcomings of corporate Canada—"our lack of entrepreneurship and during, our willingness to hide behind a weak currency, our hesitancy to reach into foreign markets, and our propensity to knuckle under to government bullying." D'Aquino's organization surveyed Canadian business

The symbols of a nation

Percentage of respondents who think these factors are an important part of what makes us Canadians:

	Canada	Ontario	Men	Women
The flag	83	60	78	82
Achievements of prominent Canadians, such as artists and scientists, around the world	80	70	76	84
Our climate and geography	71	77	73	85
Our health-care system	70	67	77	79
Our international role	77	76	73	80
Our multicultural and multiracial makeup	74	66	70	79
Canadian ownership of businesses operating in Canada	72	69	66	79
The traditional family	70	66	65	76
English and French speakers sharing one country	69	69	67	72
Hockey	67	46	66	67
Our Aboriginal Peoples	63	48	56	69
Restrictions on gun ownership and use	63	58	56	70
Public breastfeeding	63	62	54	72
The way we treat the poor and disadvantaged	60	54	55	63
A Christian heritage	54	47	45	63
Having the Queen as our monarch	41	20	34	48

HAGLEMAN'S/CBC POLL Identity Crisis

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leaders and found a "deep frustration at an underlying attitude of envy and entitlement" that runs through the Canadian culture. "There are still many Canadians who remain suspicious of the business community," he complained.

That frustration reflects a growing cultural divide. The traditional self-image of Canada as a kinder country, less individualistic, less obsessed with wealth, believing in government as a force for good, is no longer unchallenged. Attitudes are changing. The fumes unleashed by the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, which tore at the country's fabric in the late 1980s, now barely register a blip on our emotional radar. Canadians may not think free trade has been all good but, like the monarchy, few seriously believe it is going away. In fact, more respondents think the Internet now has a greater impact on drawing us closer to Americans. Only 25 per cent



Groulx, taking the Canadian game to the Americans

and Illinois." An economic truth, perhaps, but a once-unthinkable public sentiment for an Ontario premier.

The current journalism's write in the *Calgary Herald* is also, in part, a cultural battle, with management arguing that in left-leaning newsrooms has been out of step with the go-go-on city it covers. "The editorial pages were not well respected and, in the eyes of many in this city, seemed constrained by nature and in constant opposition to the community the paper alleged to be serving," wrote editor-in-chief Peter Menzies in defence of *Herald* management. "This is a city that revels in hard work, imagination and excellence." Then there is the emergence of the *National Post*. Surely the fact there is a big audience for a paper so willing to steer at traditional values is a sign the country is changing. To the surprise of many Canadians, the *Post* uncovered a good-sized middle synthesis: is its rebelliousness against high taxes and middle-class government, vigorously approving of its impatience with the enduring Canadian suspicion of the business community.

The old Canada is not dead, of course, and it would never be craggy on the bus with a copy of the *Post* under its arm. That Canada still sees itself as the guardian of greater fairness, unaltered of finance conservatism, a firm believer in life lived at a slower pace. It was also the old Canada speaking in the *Maclean's*/CBC poll finding that 54 per cent believe it is the job of government to fight the forces making Canada more like the United States. That smacks in our character has always seen government as the guardian of Canadian distinctiveness. It also helped elect the federal Liberals, who are a reflection of that view of Canada: blarney, conservative, complacent. But keeping your independence and distinctiveness in an increasingly converging world may require more assertiveness than that. And in the end, some Canadians may find to their surprise it takes a dash of those so-called American values of daring and enterprise to save the country they love. ■

Marking Ottawa's efforts

Percentage responses on how good a job the federal government has done its part on Canadian sovereignty



once regarded as an-Canadian to grandly display personal wealth. Not anymore, as one look at the ostentatious "cottages" going up along the waterfronts of the Muskoka lakes north of Toronto can prove. And Ottawa's showy high-tech businessman Michael Compton at least does not offend anyone in town, as he once would here.

New language has also crept into our politics. For every old-style leader like Jean Chrétien, who admits to taking an occasional swing at Washington because it plays so well at home, there is another like Ontario's twice-elected Premier Mike Harris, who sees benefits in making nice with the boys down south. At a recent Great Lakes Governors' Conference, Harris told his American audience: "We really see you as very, very important, more so than many parts of Canada. What happens in Newfoundland and British Columbia economically," he added, "does not affect us as much as what happens in Michigan, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania

JODIE FOSTER CHOW YUN-FAT



ANNA AND THE KING

Percentage saying Canada has a unique identity as a country

Region	90	80	93	92	84	93	90	90
Canada	90	80	93	92	84	93	90	90

Percentage saying that identity is based on a strong sense of our own history, rather than simply a desire not to be Americans

Region	77	80	76	78	73	85	76	79
Canada	77	80	76	78	73	85	76	79

CHRISTMAS

A Southern Exposure

Quebecers are low in optimism—but high in their admiration of the American way

By Brenda Bruneau in Montreal

On a grey December day in downtown Montreal, throngs of shoppers stroll past a barker who taps a spoon-like compass to the beat of lively Québécois folk music. The hustle and bustle, and the new businesses now occupying many of the long-empty stores, reflect the province's recovering economy. In November, Quebec posted its lowest unemployment rate since 1976, at 8.4 per cent. But in its narrow souvenir shop, Hassan Talib isn't breaking out the champagne. Ailed to compare his lot with the situation a decade ago, the 52-year-old store owner is unapologetic. "Business was easy, much easier then," declares Talib. Instead of his former eight-hour days, he now works 12 and grapples with higher expenses and steep competition. Where he once fought a war with three souvenir shops along his stretch of St. Catherine Street, he now competes with 11. Says Talib, "It was much better before."

His feelings reflect the fin-de-siècle mood among many Quebecers, who emerge the least optimistic of all Canadians in the annual Maclean's/CBC poll. Whether sipping up their pocketbooks or contemplating the future, Quebecers are decidedly less bullish than other Canadians. They also part company with the rest of Canada on a range of issues, from their more positive view of Americans and more ambivalent opinion of Canadians to their glowing reports from the bedroom. On economic questions, the different outlook between Quebecers and neighbouring Ontarians is striking. A score 27 per cent of Quebec respondents feel optimistic about the future, compared with 40 per cent in the rest of Canada, and 45 per cent in the most optimistic region—Ontario. And only 29 per cent of Quebecers think their financial situation has improved in the past decade, compared with 44 per cent of Ontarians. "They're hurting more financially than

any region in the country right now," says Allan Gregg, chairman of The Strategic Counsel, which conducted the poll. Parti Québécois Finance Minister Bernard Landry promised in 1998 that Quebecers would soon be enjoying the "green valleys" of budget surpluses. But they aren't looking three years. One of the last provinces to tackle its deficit, Quebec finally balanced its books in March. But hospitals, schools and municipalities still feel the pain of painful cuts. And individual Quebecers, the country's most highly taxed

citizens, can only expect modest tax breaks in the spring budget. While Quebec's economy drops along, its unemployment rate remains 1.5 points above the 6.9-per-cent national average.

That explains why Quebec respondents, in greater numbers than any region outside the Atlantic, identify unemployment as the key problem facing Canada. "My fear is that we are so late in the prosperity cycle of North America," says Desmond Morris, director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, "that the bubble will burst or the stock market will collapse for real. We'll be left behind without having actually caught up and we'll again be in a downturn."

Quebecers view the United States through a decidedly distinct lens. More Quebecers insist we are different from our American neighbors, yet gravitate towards them in a way unmatched by other Canadians. When asked to sum up Americans in a word, among the adjectives most used by Quebec respondents are "rich" and "prosperous." That mood seems to focus on American wealth surfaces elsewhere: fewer respondents from Quebec than anywhere else in the country feel Canada has a higher standard of living. Half of Quebecers think a currency union with the United States would be beneficial compared with 41 per cent in the rest of Canada. And more Quebec respondents welcome the notion of U.S. citizenship—52 per cent compared with 34 per cent elsewhere in Canada.

For poll respondent Jocelyn Carboneau, the appeal of moving south of the border is largely financial. A Quebec City ambulance technician, Carboneau, 42, lists among Canada's high personal income tax and costly federal and provincial governments. "We middle class and I think we pay for too much," complains Carboneau. Like 28 per cent of Quebecers—versus 16 per cent outside that province—she also supports the idea of Canada and the United States becoming one nation, suggesting that would put an end to her long-time and constitutional squabbles. If the past American dismays Carboneau says, he would be unfazed about leaving a French speaking province for an English-speaking country: he would learn English and seek out a "nice small place that's hot."

The findings don't surprise Robert Bernier, a political marketing professor at the Université du Québec's Montréal public administration school. "Quebecers are generally more open

A bleaker outlook

Just 27% of Quebecers say they are more optimistic about the future than they were a decade ago

National average	37%
Ontario	48%

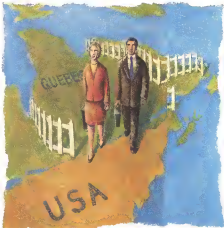
towards Americans," says Bernier. The long-standing attraction to the States likely stems from friction in relations with English-speaking Canada, he says.

"They probably had the impression that they'd be accepted more easily in a continental American environment," says Bernier. But he thinks Quebecers generally are not familiar with the United States and that their view is "more based on perception." Morion agrees that Quebecers have historically viewed Americans differently from other Canadians. During the economically depressed period of the late-19th and early-20th centuries, he notes, Quebecers "closed themselves to greatest degree" to New England rather than English-speaking Canada. And the tradition lives on. "Quebecers don't feel particularly at home going to Georgian Bay for their summer holidays," says Morion. "They can go to Cape Cod or beaches in Maine because they will find other francophones talking on the beach next to them."

Predictably, given the province's sovereignty desires, Quebecers emerge as the least attached to Canada in the poll. When asked about important factors making up the national identity, Quebec respondents ranked several symbols and values lower than other Canadians. Only 33 per cent of Quebecers—a full 20 percentage points below the national average—felt the Canadian flag was a very important part of our identity. "Quebecers will often criticize a lot," says Bernier, who has conducted several studies on Quebec attitudes for federal agencies. "But they're traditionally had an important degree of attachment to Canada." But he argues that the federal government needs to reinforce its presence in the remaining provinces of off-peak Quebec. Says Bernier, "It's very difficult to sell a political ideology if you are less present on the ground."

Quebecers also stand out from other Canadians in the bedroom, or so they say. Only Newfoundlanders say they are more sexually active than Quebecers—69 per cent active compared with 65 per cent. And Quebec respondents claim to be the most satisfied with their sex lives: 79 per cent compared with the national average of 73 per cent. No doubt either when it comes to lustful thoughts, more Quebecers report having any when from one to 10 or more sexual fantasies a day (64 per cent). Nine in that category in Ontario, at 52 per cent. So why do Quebecers score so highly in sex questions? "There's a hedonism in Quebec, misreading itself as the pay of sex," says Gregg, "that is completely different from the kind of uptight, uptight Anglophone view of the world."

Quebecers' distinctiveness also crops up in other areas. They are less likely to believe in hell than other Canadians—only 34 per cent compared with 49 per cent in Canada as a whole. Gregg notes that the firm's research in recent years shows that in many respects Quebecers, having shed much of its attachment to the Roman Catholic Church, is a much more modern, secular culture, "less hung up on religious dogma and liturgy than Anglophones." From the border to the bedroom and from patriotism to religion, Quebecers once again chart a different course. ■



The Need to Take Risks

Canadians are starting to see entrepreneurship as key to maintaining a strong identity

By Ross Laver

He is the *action* of one of Canada's best-known leaders, yet Edward Wilson has ventured a long way from his father's establishment footings. At 25, the McGill University graduate and son of BCE Corp. chairman Leonard (Red) Wilson is the founder of Brainbazaar.com, a dry Montreal-based Web start-up that sells discounted textbooks, software and related products to university students in Central and Eastern Canada. Like many young entrepreneurs, Wilson isn't exactly living the high life: he works seven days a week, draws no salary and has only one full-time employee. But he's not complaining. "Being responsible for your own destiny, it's a completely different attitude than working at a big company," says Wilson, who once spent two months in the industrial relations department of BCE subsidiary Bell Canada. "It's entirely possible that next year I'll find myself broke and penniless. But if that happened, my mind would be on my next project, trying to come up with a better product than the guy down the street."

To some extent, Edward Wilson appears representative of a generational shift. In marked contrast to their southern neighbours, Canadians on the whole have never prided

themselves on their entrepreneurial spirit and willingness to take risks. As Red Wilson puts it, "We've tended to think of a businessman as someone who has been given some kind of charter or a licence by government, and hence there's a certain suspicion of people who do things independently." There's still undoubtedly a lot of truth to the old stereotype, but this year's *Maclean's*/SCG poll suggests that these attitudes are changing. Overall, 83 per cent of those surveyed say that Canadians will need to demonstrate more entrepreneurial spirit in the next century in order to maintain a strong national identity. Similarly, three out of four respondents say more "willingness to take risks" would bolster our national identity.

In general, younger Canadians appear more convinced of the need for more entrepreneurship. Eighty-nine per cent of respondents aged 18 to 24 say a stronger entrepreneurial mind-set would strengthen Canadian identity, compared with 73 per cent of those aged 65 or older. Similarly, Quebecers are somewhat more inclined to favour an increased focus on entrepreneurship than respondents in English-speaking provinces—although there, too, the differences are in degree rather than kind. "We've always looked to American as the true entrepreneurs," says Michael Sullivan, a partner in the polling firm The Strategic Counsel, "but in the past decade in Canada small-business owners have really been the heroes of our economy in terms of creating new jobs." Adds Sullivan: "That's also as blatant, I think, of people looking



Edward Wilson: typical start-up, with a regular paycheck

over the border, seeing how new businesses have been transforming society in the United States and saying to themselves, 'We need a piece of that too.'"

The Strategic Counsel's chairman, Allan Gray, agrees that Canadians have come to embrace the notion of entrepreneurship, but cautions that the word may conjure up different images on either side of the Canada-U.S. border. "For Canadians, it's not so much an expression of unbridled faith in free enterprise, but more a defence mechanism against an increasingly uncertain world," he says. "They see it not as American-style, dog-eat-dog entrepreneurship, but more a case of the triumphant businessman securing something from scratch and retiring comfortably at age 55."

It's a dream that a growing number of Canadians are chasing. According to Statistics Canada, the number of self-employed people across the country doubled between 1976 and 1998, to 2.5 million. In the wake of the last recession, some economists have attributed the increase to a scarcity of traditional, full-time positions. But others note that younger people in particular crave the flexibility and independence

associated with self-employment. They also tend not to have families, mortgages and other financial encumbrances that require a stable income. "Right now, I'm still young, so I don't really feel the pressure to own a steady paycheck," says Ed Wilson.

Of course, it's not just young Canadians who dream of working for themselves. In a survey conducted earlier this year by the Canadian Federation of Independent Business and Scambank, 46 per cent of respondents said they were "somewhat or very likely" to consider going into business for themselves. The same study showed that Canadians view small-business owners as highly motivated, responsive to customer needs and innovative. Asked to explain their positive view of entrepreneurs and small business, the largest group of respondents, 43 per cent, cited the contribution small firms make to job creation. "I think sometimes we don't credit ourselves with being as entrepreneurial as we are," says CFIB president Catherine Swift. "It's part of our national psyche that we consistently underrate ourselves, and yet entrepreneurs are held in very high esteem."

Support for entrepreneurship may also stem from a feeling that the traditional pillars of Canada's economy are gradually

High on the hog

Percentage of respondents saying that at least one of the following is a higher priority in the other country

Canada	41
U.S.	31

Losing control

Percentage of Canadians saying that in the past few years there has been...

A loss of Canadian control of businesses operating in Canada	64
No change in Canadian control of businesses operating in Canada	14
An increase in Canadian control of businesses operating in Canada	14

Keep Canada Canadian

Percentage of Canadians saying...

Canadian ownership of businesses operating in Canada is an important part of what makes us Canadian	73
Greater Canadian control of businesses operating in Canada is essential in maintaining a strong identity in the new century	83
Greater entrepreneurial spirit is essential in maintaining a strong identity in the new century	83
Greater willingness to take risks is essential in maintaining a strong identity in the new century	73

succumbing to foreign domination. Nationally, 79 per cent of those polled say that U.S. investment and business takeovers are making Canadians "more like Americans." And 64 per cent say that in the past few years there has been a decline in Canadian control of businesses operating in this country. The evidence surrounds Canadians in the prominence of such huge U.S. retailers in Wal-Mart, Home Depot and Sears.

While in the first nine months of this year, U.S. interests snapped up Canadian companies at twice last year's buy-out rate, 14 per cent of respondents still believe there has been an increase in Canadian control as equal proportion say there has been no change. But the strong conviction of a decline in Canadian ownership strikes Goggin as evidence of deep-seated public unease. "There's a strong sense that we're losing control," he says, "but so far it's an issue that hasn't been engaged by politicians. It's a classic sleeper issue."

Right now, that issue resonates most strongly in English-speaking Canada—and particularly in British Columbia, scene of the recent \$5-billion takeover of forestry giant MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. by Seattle-based Weyer-



Inside a Home Depot: a decline in Canadian ownership of our businesses

The attraction of a common currency

Percentage of Canadians saying...

Canada would benefit	64
No impact either way	8
Canada would lose out	42

haeuser Co. Conversely, Quebecers are least likely to say that Canadians are losing control of businesses operating in Canada. Twenty-five per cent of Quebec respondents say there has been an increase in Canadian control in recent years, roughly double the

percentage in the rest of the country.

On a related question, 73 per cent of those polled agree that Canadian ownership of businesses operating in Canada "is an important part of what makes us Canadian." That's less than the percentage of respondents who consider the flag, our climate and our health-care system as important touchstones of national identity, but slightly more than the number who feel that way about hockey, gun control and public broadcasting. "It speaks to a trend we've been aware of in the past few years," says Sullivan. "As other institutions, especially government, have become less important in people's day-to-day lives, business has really gained power and influence. You could even say it's omnipresent."

All of that might lead some observers to conclude that Canadians are in a finny nationalist mood, determined to keep their distance from the American economic machine. But when it comes to preserving one of the most visible symbols of the Canadian economy, the poll respondents are sharply divided. Asked whether, overall, Canada "would benefit or lose out from having a common currency with the United States," 44 per cent say it would benefit the country and 42 per cent say it would hurt. Eight per cent foresee no impact either way. The results were close to evenly split in every province except Quebec, where fully half say a common currency would help Canada and only 35 per cent believe the country would suffer. (The Bloc Québécois is the only federal party on record as supporting a common North American currency.)

How to explain this widespread willingness to see the loonie replaced by the American greenback—along with a solid rejection of a political union? No doubt much of it stems from the weakened state of the Canadian dollar and a sense that Canadians are falling behind their American neighbours in material terms. Perhaps, too, like any good immigrants, the U.S. bucks supporters are more concerned about making money—any money—than about the colour that currency happens to be.



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Better times

Percentage saying their personal financial situation has gotten better over the past decade:

Sure, "better better," by Canadian subgroup in 1999

	1990	1995	1996	1999	2000
64	36	44	29	40	44

Assessing free trade

Percentage of Canadians saying...

	1990	1995	Men	Women
Canada has benefited more	4	9	1.5	8
Same effect in both countries	24	17	20	1.5
U.S. has benefited more	66	63	60	65

American pressures

(Asked of the 50 per cent of Canadian respondents who think Canadians are becoming more like Americans.) Percentage saying these factors had an impact:

American media such as TV, magazines and films	84
U.S. investment and takeovers of Canadian business	79
The North American Free Trade Agreement	70

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Doing It and Enjoying It

By John DeMont in St. John's

Thursday night around 10 and the heat is rising at GreenSleeves Pub and Lounge on George Street, smack in the middle of the raucous party quarter in St. John's, Nfld. The scene uncannily resembles the male fantasy world of television beer ads. On the raised dance floor, a sea of women—

mostly young, coiffed and stylishly dressed—undulates to a Latin beat. In the corner, a knot of recreational-

hockey players, just back from the rink, take big pulls on their beers and let out testosterone-fueled booms as Shania Twain struts across a video screen. Every few seconds, the door swings open, and more people come, alone and in groups, amping the room with their eyes. How they will leave is another matter: GreenSleeves has a reputation as being one of

As usual, Newfoundland sets the pace when it comes to sexual activity

the city's premier meet markets. As the room fills, the statistical probability of making a new friend rises accordingly.

The numbers are already mighty favourable. Dennis, 31, friendly and dark-haired, knows what delights await some who venture out on the town in St. John's. Before recently moving in with a girlfriend, the shopping company employee says he found sex "four or five times a week" in the bars on George Street. Tonight began with the best of intentions:

*Pyrexia at the Skip Inn:
'Sex is to be enjoyed, not
felt sharpish about'*

some hacky, a couple of beers with the boys, then home to the girlfriend. But a brunette in a halter top and tight pants had caught his eye. His lips start to glisten, as if moved by some primordial urge. Suddenly, the night seems to offer a whole new range of possibilities. "We've got a different attitude to sex around here," he says over the din. "You want it, you got it."

Is there more to that than just male bravado? Seven years of *Maclean's* year-end polls suggest there is: no Canadians talk as consistently about their libidos in such glowing terms as Newfoundlanders. Still, plenty of Islanders question their reputation for sexual prowess. "Not for a minute," scoffs Newfoundland-born comedian Cathy Jones, who now lives in Halifax. "Then it's this one, shouldn't they be putting all this energy to use in a better way—like trying to strengthen out the economy?" Truth or fiction, the numbers at least are remarkable. This time around, 69 per cent of Newfoundland respondents call themselves sexually active, giving the province bragging rights in a country where the national average is 59 per cent and the nearest rival, Quebec, is six points behind at 63 per cent. There's more: 53 per cent of Newfoundlanders say they are "very satisfied" with their sex lives, far above the 44 per cent nationally; and fully one-quarter in Newfoundland claim to have had sex within the past 24 hours—another top performance, five points above the national average.

Why are Newfoundlanders so hot? Psychologist Elena Rosen Hannah of Memorial University in St. John's calls that "the \$64,000 question." When she recently queried her sexual behaviour class—one of the biggest draws on campus with 315 students—explanations abounded: the leery weather; the isolation; the

province's high unemployment rate; the shortage of mainstream movie theatres and other amusements—all of which leave many Newfoundlanders with time to spend in the sack.

Everybody seems to have a theory. Since Newfoundlanders point to the close-knit island way of life—where everyone seems to know everyone else. That, they posit, makes finding new sex partners easier, and less risky, than on the mainland. (The incidence of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases is significantly lower than the national average.) Others say the easy pace of life on the Rock helps put Newfoundlanders in the mood. "People here do not live by a city clock," points out Rosal Hannah. "It is not like most of the industrialized world, where people have to make an appointment with their mate to have sex." Some explanations seem based on thicker logic. "It's the diet," said Lloyd, an oil-refinery worker, between sips at the Cotton Club, an upscale George Street strip club. "Me and the wife eat salt fish, we eat rabbit, we eat turn—stuff is washed. It makes us all pretty."

And Newfoundland is, after all, a small province that has spawned two famous Playboy playmates: Shannon Tweed, who lived with Hugh Hefner before hooking up with Kim Cattrall, and Danielle House, who was stripped of her Miss Canada International crown after beating up her ex-boyfriend's girlfriend in a St. John's campus bar in 1996. It is a province where the place names—Dildo, Come By Chance, Conception Bay—sound suggestive. Even the premises. Brian Tobin, his enough sex appeal to make *Clotelene's* 1996 list of Canada's hottest guys.

Perhaps it's because they are so active and sat-

Bedroom bravado

Percentage describing themselves as sexually active:

Nfld.	69
Alta.	66
Man.	59
N.S.	59
Ont.	60
Que.	63
P.E.I.	60
N.B.	63
N.C.	61
Winn.	60
Nat'l.	59
Men	69
Women	49

* Most likely to say they are sexually active: aged 18 to 24 (74 per cent); in households with incomes of \$36,000 or more (71 per cent)

When the earth moves

Percentage declaring themselves "very satisfied" with their sex lives:

Nfld.	53
Alta.	51
Man.	45
Ont.	44
Que.	49
N.C.	46
N.S.	45
N.B.	47
N.C.	46
Nat'l.	44

Bedroom helpers

Percentage saying they have used erotic materials or sexual aids to enhance their sex lives:

Nfld.	24
Alta.	26
Man.	16
N.S.	16
Ont.	28
Que.	18
N.C.	26
N.S.	16
N.B.	16
N.C.	16

* Most likely to say they have used erotic materials or sexual aids in bedrooms: those who live aged 25 to 39 (24 per cent)

Dreamland of ecstasy

Percentage saying they fantasize about having sex:

	Canada	Nfld.	N.S.	P.E.I.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Men	Women
10 or more times a day	4	1	4	6	5	3	6	6	4	6	2	7	1
5 to 9 times a day	6	5	4	3	1	5	4	6	6	3	3	11	1
2 to 4 times a day	20	20	18	23	19	22	19	13	14	24	22	27	13
Once a day	30	18	23	11	26	30	22	20	19	22	18	38	26
Never	24	26	26	30	29	21	24	25	25	22	27	13	35
Refused	14	30	26	28	19	18	24	23	33	20	28	34	20

* Most likely to say "10 or more times a day": under 40 years—7 per cent

WALLACE S. GIBSON
The Best Sex

Sexual ups and downs

Percentage describing themselves as...

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Very sexually active	12	10	12	11	17	13
Somewhat sexually active	50	49	53	53	53	46
TOTAL ACTIVE	62	59	65	64	70	59
Not very sexually active	17	16	12	17	13	12
Not sexually active at all	13	13	12	13	10	13
TOTAL NOT ACTIVE	30	29	24	30	23	25
Don't know/refused	9	11	11	6	7	10



That basic feeling: different definitions of sex

Photo: © 1999 Maclean's

ified, but Newfoundlanders are less holy than many other Canadians to spend their day fantasizing about sex. While 12 per cent acknowledged having erotic daydreams at least 10 times a day, that number pales beside the 58 per cent in Ontario and 63 per cent in Manitoba and Prince Edward Island.

Newfoundlanders tick up their impressive numbers without, it seems, any undue reliance on pornography or sex toys. According to the poll, they fell in the middle of the pack nationally when it comes to using porn and erotic aids. Business did most slow one recent weekday afternoon at Strictly Video, the city's only sex video and aid outlet. A few middle-aged men perused devices with names like the Love Connector and the Oriental Butler and scrolled amid racks of films titled *Tasty Glee* and *Sensual Intimations*. But business has not been brisk, says the store's owner, Ed Bolt. He has his sales hopes pinned on the younger generation. "They seem a bit more free, a little less likely to worry about what others think," says Bolt, who immigrated to St. John's from Holland, another place known for its liberal views on sexuality.

On a typical night on George Street, examples of an open attitude seem to surface everywhere. At O'Reilly's Irish pub,

in a crowd bells out old country drinking songs, two friends—Stephanie Hancock, a 25-year-old cook, and Jason Crumney, 33, a former fish farmer and exotic dancer—or at a table in the back of the room lost in conversation. The subject: their huge collections of pornographic movies and books. Hancock, who has a boyfriend and claims an active sex life, says she comes by her interest in porn naturally—"both my parents are into it." Crumney, who sports shoulder-length hair under his scullion hat and says he once ran for deputy mayor of St. John's, laughs. "We trade pornos like Potemkins."

At the Ship Inn, a popular downtown St. John's pub, visitors can choose from the same beers and food available just about everywhere in Canada. But there are few other spots where they would find themselves seated at noon beside a woman who describes herself as a performer of "spoken word erotica." Or where not a single person among the lunchtime crowd would bat an eye at the 39-year-old grandmother, in a perfectly audible voice, chants poetry that in explicit sexuality could bring a blush to the most rebellious rap singer. The author, Susan Potham, aka Stacy Pryor, says that women like us tend to be placed in their proper context in a place like Newfoundland where many lives are lived close to the elements and the poverty line. "Sex is a healthy thing," she says, "to be enjoyed, not felt sheepish about."

But in Newfoundland, sex is not to be taken too seriously either. Hearing that Newfoundlanders once again rank as the sexiest Canadians, Bill Squares, 64, a divorced St. John's cab driver and father of two, jokes that he must be getting more than he realized. Then he adds: "But maybe it depends on how you define sex. Because, let's face it, Newfoundlanders have been getting it—since Confederation."

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Sex by numbers

Percentage saying they had sexual activity with a partner...

	Canada	Nfld.	N.S.	P.E.I.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Man.	Women
Within past 24 hours	19	25	18	14	34	33	14	14	16	20	19	23	21
Within past week	29	29	30	33	28	34	28	20	25	34	25	34	25
Within past two weeks	6	5	5	5	5	4	8	11	3	4	4	7	5
Within past month	8	4	5	4	4	7	5	3	5	4	5	7	4
Within past six months	4	3	1	4	4	3	5	1	4	4	2	4	3
More than six months ago	11	4	11	10	9	11	14	15	10	14	14	9	10
Never	2	—	3	3	4	2	3	1	1	—	5	5	2
Refused	22	31	25	24	24	10	22	35	30	17	28	13	26

• Most likely to say "Within the past 24 hours," under 40 years—28 per cent

Peering Inward and Forward

The poll examines the Canadian identity and cross-border attitudes

The 16th annual *Abscon* year-end poll, undertaken in partnership with CBC TV's *The Agenda*, was conducted by Toronto-based The Strategic Counsel. The results are drawn from telephone interviews between Nov 5 and 15 with 1,200 adult Canadians selected randomly from all 10 provinces and 1,000 adult Americans proportionally representing the four regions: Northeast, Midwest, South and West.

Canadian respondents indicate a disproportionate number from the smaller provinces, to bring the national sample fairly

MACLEAN'S/CIBC POLL The Questionnaire

percentage points in the United States, 19 rates out of 20. Accuracy ranges are shown for results from individual provinces, regions or any other subgroups. Numbers in tables and charts are rounded off, and in most cases "don't know" and no-answer responses are discontinued.

Except where indicated, questions were asked in Canada only. Findings are expressed in percentage of respondents.

GENERAL ATTITUDES

What is the most important problem facing your country? (check one)

Canada	U.S.
1. Economic services/health/education	1
2. Unemployment/terrorism	12
3. Taxes/GST	19
4. Government/government spending/deficit	4
5. National unity	3
6. Environment	19
7. Debt/no answer	18

U.S.	Canada
8. Social/medical issues	30
9. Crime/violence	13
10. Economy/data/inflation	6
11. World issues/terrorism	5
12. Government/deficit/aid	4
13. Pollution/environment	2
14. Security	2
15. Drugs/alcohol problems	1
16. No problem/no answer	15
17. Other	12

Canada	U.S.
18. Much higher	10
19. Somewhat higher	36
20. About the same	24
21. Somewhat lower	13
22. Much lower	7
23. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
24. Much higher	10
25. Somewhat higher	36
26. About the same	24
27. Somewhat lower	13
28. Much lower	7
29. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
30. Much higher	10
31. Somewhat higher	36
32. About the same	24
33. Somewhat lower	13
34. Much lower	7
35. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
36. Much higher	10
37. Somewhat higher	36
38. About the same	24
39. Somewhat lower	13
40. Much lower	7
41. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
42. Much higher	10
43. Somewhat higher	36
44. About the same	24
45. Somewhat lower	13
46. Much lower	7
47. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
48. Much higher	10
49. Somewhat higher	36
50. About the same	24
51. Somewhat lower	13
52. Much lower	7
53. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
54. Much higher	10
55. Somewhat higher	36
56. About the same	24
57. Somewhat lower	13
58. Much lower	7
59. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
60. Much higher	10
61. Somewhat higher	36
62. About the same	24
63. Somewhat lower	13
64. Much lower	7
65. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
66. Much higher	10
67. Somewhat higher	36
68. About the same	24
69. Somewhat lower	13
70. Much lower	7
71. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
72. Much higher	10
73. Somewhat higher	36
74. About the same	24
75. Somewhat lower	13
76. Much lower	7
77. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
78. Much higher	10
79. Somewhat higher	36
80. About the same	24
81. Somewhat lower	13
82. Much lower	7
83. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
84. Much higher	10
85. Somewhat higher	36
86. About the same	24
87. Somewhat lower	13
88. Much lower	7
89. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
90. Much higher	10
91. Somewhat higher	36
92. About the same	24
93. Somewhat lower	13
94. Much lower	7
95. No answer	2

Canada	U.S.
96. Much higher	10
97. Somewhat higher	36
98. About the same	24
99. Somewhat lower	13
100. Much lower	7
101. No answer	2

In the past 10 years, do you think Canadians have become more or less like Americans?

Canada	U.S.
102. Significantly more	9
103. Somewhat less	12
104. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
105. Significantly more	9
106. Somewhat less	12
107. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
108. Significantly more	9
109. Somewhat less	12
110. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
111. Significantly more	9
112. Somewhat less	12
113. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
114. Significantly more	9
115. Somewhat less	12
116. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
117. Significantly more	9
118. Somewhat less	12
119. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
120. Significantly more	9
121. Somewhat less	12
122. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
123. Significantly more	9
124. Somewhat less	12
125. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
126. Significantly more	9
127. Somewhat less	12
128. No change	29

promise up to a statistically insignificant level. The federal sample are considered accurate to within 3.5 percentage points in Canada and 3.1

percentage points in the United States, 19 rates out of 20. Accuracy ranges are shown for results from individual provinces, regions or any other subgroups. Numbers in tables and charts are rounded off, and in most cases "don't know" and no-answer responses are discontinued.

Except where indicated, questions were asked in Canada only. Findings are expressed in percentage of respondents.

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
129. Significantly more	9
130. Somewhat less	12
131. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
132. Significantly more	9
133. Somewhat less	12
134. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
135. Significantly more	9
136. Somewhat less	12
137. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
138. Significantly more	9
139. Somewhat less	12
140. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
141. Significantly more	9
142. Somewhat less	12
143. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
144. Significantly more	9
145. Somewhat less	12
146. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
147. Significantly more	9
148. Somewhat less	12
149. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
150. Significantly more	9
151. Somewhat less	12
152. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Canada	U.S.
153. Significantly more	9
154. Somewhat less	12
155. No change	29

Do you think the standard of living in the U.S. is higher or lower than in the U.S.?

Do you agree or disagree with each of these statements? (check one)

No state has the right to impose their morality on others.	64	16
It is acceptable to use	58	23



Essay

The Year of Living Dangerously

In 1999, U.S. takeovers of Canadian companies have 'taken on a disturbing new reality.' The result: 'We have become squatters on our own land.'

By Peter C. Newman



So here we are, at the last end of the 20th century that was supposed to belong to Canada, only to find that Canada no longer belongs to us.

This was the year the economic pliers holding the country together shifted, leaving us exposed as never before to having our economic destiny controlled by outsiders. During 1999, what had been a trend became a storm. What had been the occasional incursion of American investors to grab Canadian companies with promising potential turned into a fire sale. With our dollar worth 40 per cent less than the American greenback, and a government in Ottawa oblivious to our currency's plight, the self of Canada resembled the liquidation of Enron's.

The American takeover of Canadian business is hardly a new phenomenon. In the past dozen years alone, direct American investment in Canada has surpassed \$800 billion. But there's a significant difference between past incursions and the current rapine of takeovers. Without raise Canadians being aware of it, the Americanization of our economy has entered a disturbing new reality. Corporate

takeovers do not necessarily disorient collective destinies. But there comes a point when the incursion of foreign capital takes on qualitative instead of merely quantitative dimensions.

This was the year we stepped over that invisible line we now control a smaller portion of our productive wealth than the citizens of any other industrialized country on earth. Instead of the proudly independent nation our founding fathers intended us to be, we find ourselves, on the cusp of the millennium, well on the way to becoming an economic colony of the Americans—self-governing still, but understood to the Yankee dollar, just the same.

We have become squatters on our own land.

In the past 12 months, America's global traders have moved in and grabbed nearly everything that wasn't nailed down, except Cape Breton and the notoriously unprofitable B.C. ferry fleet. Vacuuming up the best of Canada's corporate assets at an unprecedented rate, they paid more than \$25 billion for 127 companies in the first 11 months of this year—compared with \$16 billion for 121 companies for all of 1998. "Canadian icons are falling like topknots,"

Never before has our planet been so directly wired into a single economic power source: the brutal dynamism of American business

complains David O'Brien, chairman of Canadian Pacific Ltd., one of the country's defining corporations, which conducts much of its business outside the country but nonetheless remains headquartered in Calgary. "The great Canadian fire sale is under way."

Some of the major victims of 1999's unprecedented American onslaught include the iconic MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. in Vancouver; Peco Petroleum Ltd. and MetroNet Communications Corp. in Calgary; JDS Fitel Inc. in Ottawa; and Club Monaco Inc., Norma Industries Ltd., Newcourt Credit Group Inc., Muland Whelby Inc., Peoples Jewellers Corp. and Sheppens Drug Mart Ltd. in Toronto. Spar Aerospace Ltd. sold its robotics division, which earned the Maple Leaf into the marketplace on the Canadian, to the American-owned McDonnell-Bowder. Super-palace Ted Rogers, chairman of Rogers Communications Inc., which owns *Maclean's* among other publications, ended a hefty minority interest in his cable network to Bill Gates, the American empire's reigning monarch. Even Ma Bell, the most Canadian of corporate icons, sold 20 per cent of itself to Chicago-based Ameritech Corp. for \$5.1 billion. All Canadian telephone companies, once protected for domestic ownership, are currently under siege. Bell merged its directory assistance operation with Arizona-based Excell Global Services in a new company that immediately cut the operators' hourly \$19.50 wage in half.

Some of our largest companies remain headquartered in Canada, but have transferred their command posts to the United States. Their longshore lists include The Seagram Co. Ltd., once one of Montreal's corporate mainstays; Norcan Norwest Corp., the \$106-billion king of Canadian high-tech, still maintains its totem headquarters in Brampton, Ont., but is really run out of Dallas. Nova Chemicals Corp., this country's largest independent chemical firm, is moving its headquarters from Calgary to Pittsburgh. The CEO of Thomson Newspapers Corp., our world-class multimedia powerhouse, is also an outsider—Susan Gamble, who works out of Stamford, Conn. From there, this transplanted Ben Shapiro has fellow transplanted Boris, currently in charge of the Thomson chain's flagship paper, *The Globe and Mail*. (No, Bernardo isn't the name of a great Canadian chef!) A senior staffer recently replied to a query from *Fort Street* editor, now *Globe* editor, Richard Adda. "He's a killer."



Club Monaco in Toronto represents American enterprise

Other firms have been Americanized by the transfer of a majority of their stock into U.S. portfolios. Even such flagship Canadian outfits as Canadian National Railway Co. now have more American than Canadian shareholders. CN has been particularly aggressive in going state-side, buying for \$3.5 billion the Illinois Central Railway, which gives us freight access to U.S. ports on both oceans, as well as the Gulf of Mexico. The move shifts the company's centre of gravity south. 60 per cent of its shareholders are now American.

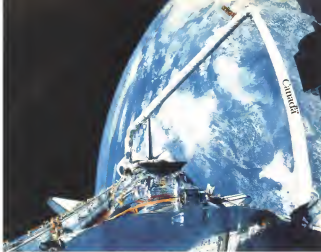
Canadian stock exchanges are booming, but they are becoming increasingly powerless. Some 725 of the 10,000 Stock Exchange-listed valuable companies, including Norad, Four Seasons Hotel Inc. and Ilexco Corp., are now listed with U.S. exchanges, where the bulk of their trading takes place. It's a sign of the times that more than a quarter of the TSX's most future-minded companies now report their results in U.S. dollars.

These, and the many other incursions into what was once holy Canadian territory, are forcing us to face the onslaught of U.S. economic imperialism, just as it is becoming an irresistible force. Individually, Americans are charming; collectively, they're a menace. Whether they're dispatching butter-knife squads into Vietnamese rice paddies or corporate raiders with blow-dried haircuts into Canadian boardrooms, they're always believed in achieving their manifest destiny. It's a winner-take-all philosophy; nice guys finish last.

Ever since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War a decade ago, the United States has transformed itself from an ambitious superpower into a restless empire, more powerful than any since the Roman legion controlled civilization. No one dare challenge America's supremacy. Never before has our planet

been so directly wired into a single economic power source: the brutal dynamism of American business on the march. Two-thirds of the world's top 50 multinationals are American, and some are richer than medium-size countries. Eight of the world's largest high-tech conglomerates live outside, as do the leading enterprises in such essential post-industrial categories as financial services, biotechnology, media, entertainment, genetics, software design and the Internet.

Canada's aspirations are increasingly being trampled by the overpowering American threedom. (The animal symbolism of U.S.-Canada relations has escalated from the more benign



Spar Aerospace's formerly Canadian Canadian: the American curbside of train power can be silent and deadly

usage of mouse and elephant, to a flea trapped within the unperceivable bite of a wild threonium.)

The American exercise of raw power can be silent and deadly. When the feds were trying to decide whether Canadian chartered banks would be allowed to handle car leasing, previously reserved for car manufacturers, General Motors Corp., which was out of Detroit, quietly dropped the word around Ottawa that to do so would endanger the future of its assembly plant at St. Thomas. One The banks were immediately shunned aside, no reason given.

U.S. silence has transferred the decision-making power, that core, including senior job promotions, south of the border. Once independent domestic firms are being forced to operate according to imported agendas and values. As well, significantly fewer research dollars and philanthropic contributions are being spent here. The accelerating drain southward of our best brains is the inevitable result. "We are losing a large part of our country," James Pryor Godwin, chairman of the Bank of Nova Scotia.

The more surprising recruit to the nationalist cause is Thomas D'Aquino, president of the Business Council on

National Issues, the powerful Ottawa lobby group for big business. "Much of corporate Canada's on the nation block, and at bargain prices," the BCNI mayor domo recently wrote Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, urging his government to hulk the reform. "Canada faces an accelerating loss of key head office functions and the high-paying jobs that go with them."

D'Aquino later, in a speech accused the government of failing to grasp the gravity of the situation, noting that "too many of our members and advisers are content with the crumbs that Canadians have managed to gather as we roll behind the combine harvester of the American economy."

That's wrong language from an organization that has been dedicated to pushing Canadian business into the globalized economy. What propounded D'Aquino's letter was his overdue realization that globalization guarantees no level playing fields. It had been advertised as a natural marketing phenomenon, promising to increase business and multiply profits for all concerned. Instead, globalization turned out to mean Americanization, period. The fact that the PM turned a deaf ear to D'Aquino's eloquent letter prompts Canada's dilemma: we have a government content

'Canadian icons are falling like tenpins. The great Canadian fire sale is under way.'



CN and trains near Beacon Hill, N.C.; the Canadian railway has been particularly aggressive in going outside

Essay

to provide over the dissolution of the country's economy.

Under such an unwaring regime, this country will inevitably be reduced to a slightly shadowed extension of corporate America's northern sales territories. "To us," Jacques Meslin says, the former head of IBM's European and Asian operations, "our primary export to the U.S. is the boundary separating Canada from the United States is no more significant than the equator—just a line on maps, devoid of meaning."

Although it seriously accelerated during 1999, the race to take over Canadian business received its most significant impetus from the Free Trade Agreement, which came into effect on Jan. 1, 1989. Trade between the two countries has more than doubled since it now totals a daily \$1.3 billion, compared with about \$500 million a day in 1988. But in the process, the FTA totally reoriented Canada's economic axis from east-west to north-south. Instead of perpetuating this nation's founding metaphor of a bounteous land stretching from sea to sea, our drifting horizon now faces due south. The FTA, later strengthened by the more widely ranging 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement, has placed this country into the jaws of a magnet that has transformed the very essence of being Canadian. We have, willy-nilly, become less the citizens of a country than of a continent.

The current foreign investment crisis flows directly from the nature of most free trade agreements. Aimed at eliminating

tariffs, they seldom respect those original boundaries. As their economies coalesce, the free-trade policies expand into other, more intimate formats. These can range from customs unions to common markets and economic unions, allowing various degrees of free movement of people and money. The most dramatic recent example is, of course, the economic integration of Europe, complete with its plan for a common currency, plus unification of monetary, fiscal and social policies among its founding members. Only one step remains beyond such a cozy bonding: political integration. And that won't be far behind. In a Aug. 30, 1999, speech in Frankfurt, German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder declared "The introduction of the common European currency was in no way just an economic decision. Monetary union is demanding that we Europeans press ahead resolutely with political integration."

Exactly.

That's what makes the prospect of a common currency between Canada and the United States so frightening. In nearly Canadian academic advocates insist it would guarantee monetary stability, allow us a better shot at buying our American firms and raise Canada's standard of living by saving interest costs on our national debt. Perhaps. But we would also be sacrificing what's left of our independence. Countries that share currencies require roughly equal debt-to-GDP ratios, any such move would wipe out Ottawa's remaining social pro-

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from need to...



3M *Innovation*

We have a government content to preside over the dissolution of the country's economy

grants, including medicine. "A common currency would turn Canada into another Montana or South Dakota," warns Senator Jack Austin, who has studied the issue. "But God bless Alan Greenspan, who keeps reminding us that any other country using Yankee greenbacks must understand that his Federal Reserve Board policies strictly serve the interests of the United States. That should warn us off any such ideas." (Strange to have a stuffy Washington banker with Buddy Holly glasses act as a guardian of Canadian sovereignty.) Sell, politician advocates for surrendering an even greater chunk of our sovereignty continue to be heard. Raymond Chrétien,

distribution. That's why governments-imposed exceptions that limit unimpeded access of its cultural exports are regarded by Washington as the equivalent of a declaration of war.

That was the issue during last summer's magazine dispute. We had been caught in the crosshairs of the struggle to make American culture so predominant that none others can thrive. Washington was determined to win access for its popular magazines (U.S. publications with Canadian advertising content), because if we stepped them, other countries might work up their nerve to try the same.

Washington need not have worried. Merely threatening retaliation was enough to persuade the Chrétien government to fold, making the future of Canadian magazines in the process. "There's a difference between compromise and collapse," former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed told me recently. "And Ottawa collapsed."

Next on the list was supposed to be a federal initiative to ensure a Canadian presence on the Internet, the most important medium of the 21st century. The CRTC nearly avoided this battle before it was joined by unilaterally declaring that Web pages in this country will require no Canadian content rules. Nada.

These two recent examples illustrate how difficult, if not impossible, it is to move against further intrusions of American interests. Anything we attempt to do to assert our sovereignty—economic, cultural or political—will be brought to a standstill by the creep to the south of us. The conquest of any nation takes place not on battlefields or in boardrooms, but within the hearts of its people and the mindset of their leaders. Conquest requires surrender. The U.S. takeover of Canada owes less to American strength than to Canadian weakness. It is happening because at the crucial juncture in our history, we are led by a politician with only one priority: his government's re-election. That he might find himself presiding over a hollowed-out nation-state, no longer in charge of itself, has never entered his mind.

Grieving for my country, at this midnight hour before the new millennium—left with the fugitive remnants of a mis-spent century—I am reminded of that long-ago cry from the heart of another beleaguered American neighbor, former president Porfirio Díaz of Mexico. "So far from God . . . so near to the United States!"

My other memory is the cabaretous outburst of chief U.S. trade representative Clayton Kopp, at a White House signing ceremony of the Free Trade Agreement. "We've signed a stunning new trade pact with Canada," he gloated. "The Canadians don't know what they've signed. In 20 years, they'll be seeking into the U.S. economy."

Clayton Kopp was wrong. It didn't take 20 years. ■



D'Aquila, Gaudin, Chrétien: globalization was supposed to multiply profits for all—instead, it turned out to be Americanization, period

who speaks both as Canadian ambassador to Washington and as the PM's nephew, has called for a customs union that would harmonize the two economies and "codify our future together," wherever that means.

What is meant is that the debate about American dominance over Canada is taking on far more dangerous directions than merely economic takeover. Under current union, the basic marrow of our nationhood—our culture—would be at stake. Despite nearly 133 years of trying to huddle its customs, our nation is a pure culture, penetrable and unshaped. American culture, in contrast, is the United States' most successful overseas export. Hollywood, for example, imports most of its films in home markets, making its profits from foreign

Swallowing Canadian companies

Value of U.S. acquisitions of Canadian companies (in billions)



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Ring in the Millennium!

Across Canada, teams of experts will watch for Y2K computer bugs on New Year's Eve

By Gwen Saxth and D'Arcy Jenish

May: Paul Bohach picked up his briefcase for a buck at a garage sale, while many of his colleagues at CFB Kingston looked down somber versions of the loaded counting machines. No, the army has not developed a sudden interest in ancient maths. These soldiers are members of Operation Abacus—a massive military initiative that involves 1,200 Canadian Forces personnel. On Dec. 31, the Abacus team will be firmly entrenched in an Ottawa command-and-control post and at five regional centres across the country. At the clock tower midnight, they will be watching computer screens intently to see if the show holds—and all the network efforts to kick the Y2K computer bug have worked.

Estimates of the amount spent in Canada in that computer will calculate the year after 1999 in 2000 range from \$20 billion to \$50 billion. All essential systems are said to be fixed, but the Ottawa command centre will be at the ready—with the troops on standby—just in case.

Across the country, this will be the most-watched New Year's Eve and Day on record. Thousands of stars police, hydro workers, bankers, telephone operators, nurses and firefighters will be on duty—with many more on call—prepared in the event that Y2K computer errors amount to more than a few computer glitches. Maclean's spoke to Canadians in key sectors who will not have time to sit champagne on the most-watched most-unexpected New Year's in history.

MARGARET DE GRACE

Disaster response planning co-ordinator, Vancouver Hospital.
Talks about triple-whammy potential. While de Grace and the other five members of the hospital's emergency response group watch for Y2K glitches, they must also keep a wary eye on the street. A nearby New Year's concert will draw 45,000 Kootenai fans, not least, the bus will be open until 3 a.m.

Things could get messy. But de Grace, 52, says hospitals and police in the Vancouver area have been highly co-ordinated for emergencies ever since the Stanley Cup riot of June, 1994. The response team's attention will be on the hospital's computer as a message goes out just before midnight to log off all machines, except those running medical equipment. Twenty minutes later, if all is well, the networks will be phased back online. On the home front, de Grace's two teenage daughters will be partying with friends while her husband helps out as a volunteer at the hospital. But even an emergency group needs a celebration of sorts. At midnight, says de Grace, her team will take a 60-second party break—then it's back to work.

RIC BENTKOWSKI

Domestic War 2000 Project, Canadian Airlines

No one will be watching the clock more nervously on New Year's Eve than airline managers. Neither Air Canada nor Canadian Airlines will have any domestic flights in the air at midnight. But Air Canada will have three flights heading to Europe at that hour and Canadian will have two en route to Asia and one to Europe. Bentkowski, 47, who has run Canadian's Y2K preparation program for the past two years, will spend the night at the airline's crisis operations centre at Calgary International Airport where he will monitor information about airline and airport operations as it flows in via satellite from around the world. While his wife and two children join the evening quietly at home, Bentkowski will stay on duty until at least midday on Jan. 1. "When this coronavirus dies it is a new virus," he says. "I'll go home, pop open the champagne, and enjoy the millennium like everyone else."

PETER MANSBRIDGE

Chief correspondent for CBC-TV's The National

CBC-TV and CBC Newsradio will broadcast live for 26 hours straight, starting at 6:30 a.m. Toronto time on Dec. 31,

and Mansbridge, 51, plans to participate throughout. He hopes to take a four-hour break at midday on Dec. 31, and will rest either in his fourth-floor office or his modest dressing room. CBC will carry footage of New Year's Eve celebrations around the world, beginning with the tiny Kiribati islands in the South Pacific and on through New Zealand to the Great Pyramids in Giza, Egypt, a papal mass in St. Peter's Square in Rome and the Queenship down the River Thames to the Millennium Dome in Greenwich. While his wife Cynthia Dale cares for their five-month-old son, Mansbridge will provide voice-overs for most of the global events, as well as hourly newscasts and interviews with guests. CBC correspondents will provide live coast-to-coast coverage of New Year's Eve celebrations in Canada. "It should be fun," Mansbridge says, "but hopefully we won't be dealing with colonies."

LT-COL. CHRISTIAN JUNEAU

A leader of Operation Abacus

He describes the Ottawa command-and-control centre as "the hub of everything that will be happening in Canada." About 500 troops, along with a few air force and navy advisors—will be set up in a civil servant training centre, complete with dormitories. While Juneau's wife and two daughters celebrate the arrival of 2000 in Montreal, he and his group will be cloistered in a room buzzing with activity: some soldiers will be monitoring weather, others will be communicating with the regional command centres. Anything that goes wrong domestically will be studied on a 15-foot by 10-foot map of Canada. "It's what we call the Big Table," says Juneau, 40, "because it gives a bird's-eye view of what's happening across the country." Operation Abacus will continue—likely until the end of January—and the federal government gives the all clear. "We're like farmers at the first season," says Juneau, "standing by, hoping nothing happens but if it does, we'll be out there."

Cpl. Richard Mayne (left) and Sgt. Michael McGowan with Wireless Officer Ron Roberts in Operation Abacus map room in Ottawa, Silverberg (below). Is everything ready?

MICHAEL FOULKES

Executive vice-president and chief information officer, TD Bank Financial Group

He calls himself "a paranoid optimist," confident that customers will have no trouble on Jan. 1 receiving their money from Green Machines and using credit and debit cards. Foulkes, 45, has led Toronto Dominion's \$100-million Y2K effort and will have as many as 300 team staff on duty across the country from Dec. 31 to Jan. 5, from the bank's Toronto headquarters. Foulkes will watch closely as the year 2000 arrives: 13 to 18 hours earlier in New Zealand, Japan and Australia. Through its Australian subsidiaries, TD will be on the ground in Melbourne and Sydney, with employees using ATM cards and making debit-card purchases in the wee hours of Jan. 1. Foulkes's crew will watch as those transactions hit the computers in Canada. Tonight in Europe, then Canada will follow as a succession of midnight sweeps across the time zones. While Foulkes won't be with his wife and two kids to greet a new century, TD staff "are certainly planning parties for January and February"—an celebration, they hope, a bug-free 2000.

CHRISTINE SILVERBERG

Calgary's chief of police

At 11:30 p.m. on Dec. 31, Silverberg will be on stage at Olympic Plaza, wishing those attending Calgary's big New Year's festival "a safe transition over midnight." By 11:45, she'll leave her husband and two children at the party and head to the emergency operations centre at BOC Tower. Silverberg, 50, will join police, fire, utility, nurse and health workers to watch what happens as the clock strikes midnight. On the streets, her uniform will be out in force: 365 officers, double the number who worked last New Year's, will be on duty. They are ready for anything from Y2K-bug disruptions—such as lights or heat going out—or out-of-control celebrations. Under a program called Community Action in Response to Emergencies (CARE), this has become one giant block watch. Many Calgarians have learned from widely circulated videotapes how to organize groups of 20 to 25 homes and how to prepare for an emergency. "The idea is that if any emergency service is swamped," says Silverberg, "the community could take care of itself." Y2K sparked all this activity but Calgary will now be ready for future crises. "This," she says, "has been a very positive spinoff!"



A Y2K checklist

Experts say Canadians should treat this New Year's Eve like any other potential winter emergency. Below are some precautions they suggest prudent citizens take.

Kitchen needs to have on hand:

- ✓ A three-day supply of food and water
- ✓ A litre of drinking water per person per day for three days, as well as extra water for cooking and cleaning
- ✓ Canned food and dry goods that do not need to be cooked, such as baked beans, tuna, soups and peanut butter
- ✓ Disposable cups and plates, a manual can opener and a bottle opener
- ✓ Have alternate cooking equipment available, such as an outdoor barbecue

Household essentials to organize:

- Flashlights and spare batteries
- A battery-operated radio for news bulletins
- Candles and waterproof matches or a lighter
- A first-aid kit
- At least one week's supply of medication and copies of prescriptions
- Warm blankets or sleeping bags
- Dry wood for a fireplace
- Gas up the car
- If the garage door is electric, consider parking the car outside
- At least a few days' cash on hand, including coins for a pay telephone
- Up-to-date paper records of all financial transactions, save the most recent statements and current withdrawal and deposit receipts

Family matters:

- Know how to reach relatives in case of service disruptions
- People with disabilities and frail seniors should have family or friends check on them

Things NOT to do:

- Keep large amounts of cash at home—police are concerned about encouraging crime
- Stockpile food and medicine—this could cause shortages
- Buy a generator unless it's something the household needs anyway; utilities are advised the power will work
- Pick up your phone right at midnight to check for a dial tone, the phone companies are worried that night overload the system

The bug and the fix

Computer programmers hadn't expected their programs to last so long. That's why they used two digits instead of four to represent years in software code—allowing space, for example, for 75 instead of 1975. This left computer programs and chips unable to distinguish between 2000 and 1900.

In repairing the problem, many programmers have not added the extra two digits for the century—that would have been too expensive and complicated. Instead, they have simply written programs that help computers to pick the correct century. But some companies with deeper pockets have found the most effective way to stamp out the Y2K bug—they have replaced their systems outright.

What, us worry?

While governments and information systems leaders are at pains not to say anything that might panic Canadians, Environics Research Group reports the overall level of Y2K concern has been falling all year. The number of Canadians who will personally prepare for the arrival of 2000 has also

Eying the East

All eyes are going to be on New Zealand and Australia, the developed countries that will greet Jan. 1 before the rest of the technology-dependent world (At midnight in Auckland, it will be 7 a.m. on Dec. 31 in Halifax.) Governments, agencies and companies around the globe will be monitoring whatever impact the Y2K bug has in the South Pacific. If all that official watching and worrying do not slow the Internet to a crawl, there are some Web sites to help gauge the early experience.

New Zealand's Y2K Readiness Commission
<http://www.y2k.govt.nz>

Australian government's Year 2000 Web site
<http://www.year2000.gov.au>

Closer to home, there are Web sites with information on Y2K preparations

Government of Canada
<http://www.info2000.gc.ca>

Emergency Preparedness Canada
<http://www.epc-pcc.gc.ca/>

The federal government hotline—1-800-9-CANADA—has dedicated some operators to the year 2000 issue.

Canadian attitudes:

Concerned about Y2K? 27%
Very concerned 4%
dropped—it is now just 30 per cent, and many of those people will only stay just before the year ends.

Patscia Treble



The new Cool Skin from Philips

performs like a blade minus the nicks, cuts and skin irritation. Cool Skin



comes with a unique

cartridge developed

by Nivea For Men,

a world leader in skin

care. The push of a button

releases Nivea moisturizing lotion,

giving you the feel

and closeness of a

wet shave with

the convenience of an

electric shaver. You can even use

Cool Skin in the shower. If you're

not impressed by its smooth,

close wet shave, without the

nicks and cuts, we'll

give you your

money back.

Guaranteed.



NOW YOU DON'T
HAVE TO LOOK LIKE
SANTA CLAUS
TO GET A SUPERIOR
WET SHAVE.

Philishave
Cool Skin

NIVEA
MEN



PHILIPS

Let's make things better

IMAGES 99

Hail and Farewell



ADRIENNE CLARKSON AND HER HUSBAND, John Ralston Saul, waved to the crowds on Parliament Hill following her investiture as Canada's 26th Governor General. In Edmonton, it was a family affair for Wayne Gretzky when his famous Edmonton Oilers jersey, with his signature No. 99, was retired in an emotionally charged ceremony at the Skyreach Centre (opposite). With him were wife Janet (centre), surrounded by his parents, Walter and Phyllis, and children Trevor, 7 (front left), Paulina, 10, and Ty, 9.

The last year of the century was brimful of inspiration, sadness—and war

There was never much blood-
hood this most tumultuous
of centuries would go out
with a whimper. The 20th closed
as it opened with political trans-
mas in the globe's remote cor-
nices, and people alternately dis-
tilled and perplexed by great
technological changes swirling
around them. All the century's
hallmarks were present. The
shame of its inhumanity, so
achingly visible in the eyes of
refugees from wars in Kosovo,
East Timor and Chechnya. The
marvels of its ingenuity, evi-
denced by the galloping growth
of the Internet and the mapping
of the human genetic code. And
the enduring fascination with
that 20th-century religion:
celebrity. But the world in 1999
was a far more intimate place
than it had been at the century's
dawn. The global circuitry is



'We didn't come here for fun. We were forced out of Kosovo.'

—Felix Watanen, 50, a Kosovo Albanian refugee in Canada

now so complex and interconnected that Canada could not avoid the buffering of far-off troubles even if it hoped to.

And so Canadian planes flew bombing runs last spring over a contested Yugoslav province, where almost a whole people was expelled from its homes into mud and misery on the basis of its Albanian ethnicity. When Slobodan Milosevic's marauding forces finally withdrew after 78 days and nights of bombing from the militant military alliance ever assembled, Canadian peacekeepers arrived to help police the chaotic aftermath. A smaller band of Canadian blue berets did the same a few months later, landing in the thick jungle heat of East Timor to try to restore a modicum of control to a province that had been turned to cinder. And Canadians felt the ripples from the economic sanctions gripping China's Fujian province, as some of the hundreds of thousands of Chinese trying to amass themselves to the West washed

up on rocky British Columbia shores. But there were troubles in tiny corners at home, too, some of them also rooted in ancient and ethnic causes. The harbor town of Burnt Church, N.B., became the last flash point between native and non-native Canadians, after the Supreme Court recognized the validity of a 239-year-old treaty guaranteeing Mi'maq Indians the right to fish. Mostly, however, 1999 was quiet at home. Provincial elections produced some new faces, notably New Brunswick's baby-faced Bernard Lord and Manitoba's fourth-time-lucky Gary Doer. The Parti Québécois government fired the occasional rhetorical bullet but little more, while Jean Chrétien laid out how Ottawa would react to any future referendum. Above all, there were reasons to quietly celebrate being Canadian: in the centennial adventures of Julie Reeser; in the fragile birth of a new territory—Nunavut;

"Our Land" in Inuktitut; and in the appointment of Chinese-Canadian immigrant Adrienne Clarkson as the 26th Governor General, who quickly injected life and energy into the sleepy ceremonial post.

It was also a year when many scars passed from being part of our lives to part of our memories. Wayne Gretzky retired from hockey to paradise. Michael Jordan was finally grounded, while Nelson Mandela left office to return to his boyhood village. Maple Leaf Gardens closed with sentimental grace, Eason's with the indignity of a fire sale, and Canadian Airlines succumbed at last, swallowed by Air Canada, its bitter end in civil. They faded as a millennium century expired, giving way to a new one yet to throw up its own heroes and glories and tragedies, its innocence still unblemished.

Bruce Wallace



Fear and flighty overcome a Kosovo Albanian refugee as she and thousands of others were driven from their homeland by Serbian soldiers.

Canadian peacekeepers went there and to violence-racked East Timor, where Van Doos stormed ashore (right). U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton talked with voters in aptly named Clinton, N.Y. (far right), prior to announcing her candidacy for the same U.S. Senate that acquitted her husband in the Monica Lewinsky scandal.



A Mi'maq at Burnt Church, N.B., defied non-native fishermen in a hot dispute over the lobster catch.

178,400

Prescriptions issued for Viagra in first three months after Canada approved it.



'In time we're going to realize that we're raising a reckless generation'

—Alberta seced leader Wiebo Ludwig



After months at sea, four rusty ships carrying nearly 600 Chinese arrived on the B.C. coast, causing a storm over Canada's refugee policy. In Winnipeg, a shopper took a last look at the statue of founder Timothy Eaton (below), before the retail chain folded after 130 years.

IMAGES 99

The End of the Road

Eaton's went bankrupt, Glen Clark fell and the Chinese boat people risked their lives. On an Alberta commune, the road led to tragedy.



Normally inquisitive ex-preacher Wiebo Ludwig, with sons Levi and Caleb, spoke cautiously following the fatal shooting of a 16-year-old girl on his communal ranch near Beaverlodge, Alta. (Top left) B.C. Premier Glen Clark posed in his East Vancouver home during an RCMP raid on his house (left), he later resigned although no charges were laid.



7.92 million

New phone numbers created when Alberta added its 780 area code in January

High Achievers



Prime Minister Jean Chrétien appointed strong-willed women to three of the country's biggest jobs

Born in Pincher Creek, Alta., 56-year-old Beverley McLachlin became the first female chief justice of the Supreme Court of Canada after serving on the nation's top court for 10 years.

'I ask you to embark on a journey with me'

—Gov. Gen. Adrienne Clarkson during her investiture

UN war crimes prosecutor Louise Arbour, 52, indicted Yugoslavia's Slobodan Milosevic, then came home to be a Supreme Court justice.



\$43,200

Average household debt of Canadians on Jan. 1, surpassing average disposable income (\$42,600) for the first time.

Former broadcaster Adrienne Clarkson, 60, took her place with husband John Ralston Saul as she was installed as Governor General and—friends predicted—as a sparkling hostess extraordinaire for Canada.

Terror at School

A tragic series of shootings across North America shocked parents and led them to re-examine how they handle their kids



'My friends started saying it's probably like that thing iolorado'

—Mylene Drouin, 12, outside W. R. Myers High School in Taber, Alta.



Residents of Taber, Alta., rushed to W. R. Myers High School after a 14-year-old gunman calmly entered the building and opened fire, fatally shooting one 17-year-old and injuring another. The incident was widely seen as a copycat outburst, coming eight days after the massacre at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo., when two teenagers stormed in and opened fire. Friends signed the coffin of a Littleton student who was among 15 who died (top left). In Los Angeles, authorities led children out of a Jewish community centre (left) after an anti-Semitic gunman walked in, fired off 70 rounds, and wounded a receptionist, a 16-year-old girl and three boys.

8.7 million
Instant background checks came out in first year on U.S. gun purchases, stopping 160,000





'This was supposed to be the happiest day of my life'

—Sophie Rhys-Jones, shortly before her wedding, after a tabloid published an old photo of her topless



IMAGES 99

Power Couples

Some got together, some broke up, some did business and some just danced



Prince Edward and Sophie Rhys-Jones rode through Windsor Castle after their low-key royal wedding. (top) Onex Corp. owner Gerald Schwartz and his wife, book-seller Heather Ruismen, breakfasted as he tried, and failed, to get Air Canada and Canadian Airlines under his wing



Card Corp. owner Michael Cowland helped wife Maureen show off her \$1 million outfit, featuring a 24 karat gold breast shield; Pamela Anderson Lee raised eyebrows as well as husband Tommy's trench coat after they reconciled (below). Prince Charles tangled with a local dancer in Argentina (left), Bank of Montreal chairman Matthew Barnett, 55, split with the bank and his wife of less than two years, Anne-Maree Sten 44 (above left)



9.6 billion

Pieces of postal mail sent in Canada in a year, a drop of two billion from five years ago



When Danger Is Everywhere

The Earth turned savage in Taiwan and Turkey, while a Kurdish rebel and Israel's new leader faced enemies made in war



'It is not possibb reach all of them'

—Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, on the quake victims

Kurdish guerrilla leader Abdulah Öcalan was captured by agents in Kenya and returned to Turkey, where he was sentenced to death for the murder of Turks killed by his rebels (left). Later in the year, rescue workers pulled an injured woman from the rubble after a disastrous earthquake in Turkey that killed 17,000 people (top)



Buildings fell like tops in Taipei when an earthquake rattled Taiwan, killing nearly 2,000 people (above). Peace-minded Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak prayed at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem following his landslide victory over hawk Benjamin Netanyahu

6 billion
Population of the world as of Oct. 12, according to UN estimates



A hockey era ended when Wayne Gretzky retired after his last game as a New York Ranger and 20 glittering years in the NHL. A marketing era may have begun when American Brandi Chastain ripped off her jersey and revealed her Nike sports bra after scoring the championship-winning goal at the 1999 women's soccer World Cup (right)

IMAGES 99

Winning Memories



There was jubilation and no little sadness as sports stars came—and went

Thirty-year-old Caroline Brunet from Lac Beauport, Que., captured gold in all three women's singles events at the 1999 world canoe and kayak championships in Milan. Canada's baseball bench erupted after a 7-6 upset triumph over the United States at the Pan American Games in Winnipeg (below), marked by drug scandals and Cuban defections

'OK, I miss it—cripes, I really miss it . . . I miss it drastically' —Wayne Gretzky on hockey



\$3.05 million (U.S.)

Amateur Calgary-born entrepreneur Todd McFarlane paid for baseball slugger Mark McGwire's record-setting 70th home-run ball



© 1999 AP/Wide World Photos



Monster Hits

Kids dominated entertainment. But there was also Diana



These mischievous Pokémon monsters beguiled children and delighted retailers across the country. Canadian hip-hop superstar Deborah Cox (right) rode the wave of music's fastest-growing genre to major U.S. success. The legend of Star Wars lived on in *The Phantom Menace* (top, far right), starring Liam Neeson and Ewan McGregor. And Scarborough, Ont.-born Mike Myers parodied on with Heather Graham (centre right), so he brought back his James Bond spoof character Austin Powers in *The Spy Who Shagged Me*. Groovy, baby.



'Wherever the kids are, Pokémon is there, too'

—Toy industry writer Christopher Byrne



Sultry jazz singer Diana Krall's new CD, *When I Look in Your Eyes*, went platinum, selling more than 100,000 copies in Canada—mainly to grown-ups.

49%

Portion of Canadian households with at least one person using the Internet

Those We Lost

There were desert kings and American royalty, talented writers and the man who *was* Montreal

King Hussein of Jordan, 63, modernizing monarch and peacemaker
Yehudi Menuhin, 82, master concert violinist
George C. Scott, 71, Hollywood actor (Patton)

Alvin Karpis, 78, visionary co-founder of Japan's Sony Corp.
Dusty Springfield, 56, pop singer (I Only Want to Be with You)
Stanley Kubrick, 70, filmmaker (2001: A Space Odyssey)

Wilt Chamberlain, 63, basketball star known as "Wilt the Stilt"
Cliff Edwards, 70, British actor (Doctor in the House) and writer
Iris Murdoch, 79, British author (The Sea, The Sea)

Brian Moore, 77, Belfast-born author (The Luck of Ginger Coffey) who moved to Canada and later the United States
Robert Clotworthy, 77, actor who played Halc on CBC TV's The Beachcombers
Arthur Lewis, 501, diplomat and publisher who earlier spent 25 years at Maclean's, and was its editor from 1945 to 1950

Cemile Larue, 78, creator of Quebec's language law
Harry Sorenson, 73, one of Canada's leading composers (opens Louis Riel)
Allen Meilander, 78, co-host of CBC Radio's As It Happens for 19 years
Gordon Gellman, 69, known as the father of modern Quebec theatre

Percy James, 76, Newfoundland novelist (Voyage of Hate)
Marcel Piché, 57, journalist and CBC ombudsman
Michael Harrington, 82, Newfoundland writer and historian

Bryce Mackenzie, 78, business-ink cabinet minister
Oliver Reed, 61, British actor (Women in Love)
Mel Torme, 73, lounge singer known as the "Velvet Fog"

DeForest Kelley, 79, actor who played " Bones " the doctor in the Star Trek TV and movie series
Vicor Metcalf, 86, Hollywood actor (Samson and Delilah)
Anthony Newley, 67, British musical composer and actor

Al Hirt, 76, Dixieland trumpeter
Roy Acme, 61, singer-songwriter (Lay to the World) and actor
Gene Siskel, 53, film critic paired with Roger Ebert ("Two thumbs up")
Marie Perle, 78, author of The Godfather

Jennifer Peterson, 71, co-star of British cooking show Two Fat Ladies
Walter Payton, 45, former National Football League star running back
Owen Hart, 33, Calgary-born professional wrestler

John Ehrlichman, 73, adviser to president Richard Nixon and a key figure in the Watergate scandal
Jakus Kerec, 72, former Tanzanian president and African statesman
Joshua Nkomo, 82, former president of Zimbabwe and co-guerrilla leader

King Hassan II, 70, of Morocco, ruler for 38 years
Raise Gerbachev, 67, stylish wife of former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev
Hugh Cassen, 69, British architect and mentor to Prince Charles

(Screening) **Lord David Selkirk**, 58, economic leader of the British Manster Raving Loony Party
David Ogilvy, 88, founder of advertising firm Ogilvy & Mather
George Papadopoulos, 80, Greek dictator from 1964 to 1974

Paul Melrose, 91, U.S. philanthropist and banking heir
Henry Blackman, 90, retired U.S. Supreme Court justice who wrote the 1973 decision legalizing abortion



JEAN DRAPEAU, 83
 Flamboyant Montreal mayor who presided over Expo 67 and the debt-ridden 1976 Olympics



JOE DIMAGGIO, 84
 Baseball star and legendary gentleman, married for nine months to Marilyn Monroe



GREG MOORE, 24
 Speedway race-car driver from Maple Ridge, B.C., who crashed at 350 km/h



"Hi. I'm John." —John F. Kennedy Jr.'s standard greeting, downplaying his background

JOHN F. KENNEDY JR., 36, and **CAROLYN BESSETTE KENNEDY**, 33
 They were often seen as New York City's most glamorous pair, he the son of a legendary president, always remembered for that touching funeral salute, she the well-born achiever with a beauty to match his. Kennedy tried to downplay his background and get on with editing George magazine, but many Americans believed they had lost a future leader



JACK WEBSTER, 80
 Vancouver open line broadcaster known for his gruff Scottish wit and campaigns for ordinary folk

29

Age of Canadian Robert Murdoch, now 67, when he first published ideas on a single currency that led to his 1990 Nobel Prize in economics

Challenging the Separatists

Parliament will decide if a referendum question meets the Supreme Court's tests

By Bruce Wallace

They are a strange pair in many ways, these two Quebecers of different generations who share the conviction that their province belongs in Canada. Politics has never been a science for Jean Chrétien. He has forged his remarkable political career by following the call of his heart and his gut. Stéphane Dion, on the other hand, is a political scientist by profession, whose arguments are reached by methodical analysis and are conditioned by a life focused in academics, not politics. But ever since Chrétien decided after the near-draconian exposure of the 1995 referendum to bring Dion into his cabinet, the two men have bonded into what one Chrétien friend calls "an almost father-son relationship." Dion operates in a business-like any other cabinet minister. Most of them rarely pick up the phone to call Chrétien and, when they do, usually keep the conversation precise. But Dion is on the phone with the PM all the time, arguing strategy and telling him what's on his mind, formulating his thoughts as he goes along.

Yet, for the moment at least, this unusual partnership has Quebec's separatists on the run. Just as they promised, Chrétien and Dion tabled a draft bill in the House of Commons last week, setting out conditions under which Ottawa would negotiate the breakup of the country following a referendum vote by *la force*. The bill is drawn directly from the language of the 1995 Supreme Court of Canada opinion, which said Ottawa must enter into such negotiations—but only if the *Yes* side wins a clear majority on a clear question asking Quebecers whether they wish to leave Canada. In doing so, the Chrétien Liberals took the risk of acknowledging Canada is indivisible. But they contend the federation cannot be broken by a Quebec government winking a *Yes* vote from Quebecers on an ambiguously worded question. "Never will the government of Canada negotiate without a clear question," an animated, combative Dion told a news conference in Ottawa after tabling the bill. "Never."

The draft bill spells out Ottawa's ground rules for accession in succinct terms, a hallmark of Chrétien's style. It declares that a simple majority of 50 per cent plus one is not enough to trigger separation, although it never spells out what percentage would be enough. "We'll know a clear majority when



we see it," is essentially Ottawa's position. Although Chrétien preferred to specify a number—the PM personally liked the sound of 66 per cent, *sovereigns* say—the idea was abandoned after legal advisers warned him he was moving farther than the Supreme Court allowed. At any rate, Dion admitted, "you cannot hold people in a country against it will."

Just as well the specifics were dropped, and other advisers. They wanted a political fight over the size of the majority would detract from the real value of the legislation in its insistence that any future referendum be unambiguous. The draft bill declares that, within 30 days of a provincial government officially releasing a referendum question on accession, the House of Commons would vote to decide whether the question was clear. Chrétien and Dion were careful to insist that Ottawa would not write the question itself. There is a fair consensus that the right to ask a referendum question resides exclusively with the province's national assembly. And Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard said on Dec. 10 he would introduce a bill reaffirming Quebec's exclusive right to set the rules, calling Ottawa's move "a stain on Canadian democratic reputation in the eyes of the international community."

Bouchard and Chrétien in Quebec City on Dec. 10 legislation to require a clear question and a clear majority

None of that faced Chrétien. "They have a referendum, they ask a crooked question—fine, so what? There will be no negotiations," was his characteristically blunt retort. In more legal form, Ottawa's bill says it would not consider a question to be clear if asked for a "mandate to negotiate," or held out the promise of an economic partnership with the rest of Canada. A clear question, Chrétien and Dion said, would have to explicitly state Quebec's desire to leave Canada.

Surprisingly, there are some in Bouchard's Parti Québécois who agree. Quebec's deputy premier, Bernard Landry leaned that way, suggesting the PQ hold the next vote on the question of "Quebec joining the concert of nations." But other separatists are still looking for a variation on that old 1970s chevron "sovereignty association." "The objective should be achieving sovereignty," Bouchard said, trying to line up with Landry. But he added: "Contrary to what I wish, there are some people who would want to separate the notion of partnership from sovereignty. So yes, there are lively

discussions within the party." And between separatist parties as well. The Bloc Québécois added to the confusion by signalling at one point that it believed the Commons also have a legitimate role in evaluating the clarity of the question and the result.

Separatism may have been dented and confused by the federal pressure, but as usual they did not want for courage. Quebec Inter-governmental Affairs Minister Joseph Facal complained that "Ottawa, inspired by a Soviet-style law, is trying to impose a real straitjacket on Quebec's political future." Landry noted that "Quebec forms a nation, as truly as Scotland forms a nation and Catalonia forms a nation," before firing off an equally colourful historical dissertation by comparing Ottawa's treatment of Quebec to Madrid's denial of Catalan aspirations during the Fascist dictatorship of Gen. Francisco Franco. Landry's comments seemed particularly inappropriate in a week when both Bouchard and Jacques Parizeau were defending themselves in a Montreal libel trial against anonymous analyst Richard Lafreny. In a 1993 newsletter, Lafreny flamed the two premiers' tactics to Adolf Hitler's.

But Dion and Chrétien had everyone scrambling to find their balance. Opposition leader Preston Manning completed his pressure by declaring his Reform party would support the Liberal bill—although the Alberta populist contends 50 per cent plus one should be enough to win a referendum. This was also—most of the—promise of Quebec Liberal Leader Jean Charest, who committed to say 50 plus one is a technically good enough to accede but thoroughly impractical. Charest, once a fierce critic of Chrétien's decision to go to the Supreme Court for legal guidance, gloated last week that the court opinion was "full of wisdom."

National unity politicians can be slippery, of course, and Chrétien and Dion might not hold their advantage for long. But they may just have succeeded in reframing the debate. The term "clarity" has now entered the lexicon and will not be easily expunged. And after more than two years of preparing the groundwork for *la voie arctique*, in success misfired Chrétien's faith in his own instincts. He chose to handwritten a speech on the subject, which he delivered to the party's Quebec wing in Hull, Que., two weeks ago, the first time his advisers remember him doing so in his long political career. He is "jumped up," they say, the playmaking centurion happy to be carrying the pack again, with Dion on his wing, the intellectual enforcer clearing space. ■

A plan to spare rare lives

Ottawa stresses carrots instead of sticks to save endangered wildlife

By John Geddes

Grant Fahlman, 51, has lived his whole life on the farm 25 km southeast of Regina where his family settled when they came from Russia in 1889, and this year was the first in his memory that no barnswallow owls raised their broods in his pasture. "We had one come around last spring for a couple of weeks, and then it was gone," Fahlman says. "It's a great disappointment." That sense of loss has been felt in recent years by many others who are fond of the little owls with the long legs. A decade ago, Fahlman and other farmers who participate in a program called Operation Barnswallow Owl counted 657 breeding pairs in Saskatchewan. This year, just 79 pairs were sighted. Researchers blame everything, from the loss of wild grassland habitat to the runoff of owls flying low over Prairie highways.

None, federal protection for the barnswallow owl—and 338 other species of wildlife considered at risk in Canada—is finally on the way. *Michael* has learned that Environment Minister



Barnswallow owl, Anderson: a balance between industry and the environment

David Anderson, who is expected to present long-awaited endangered-species legislation to the House of Commons in February, will outline his plan in Calgary on Dec. 17. It is the Liberal government's second try at such a law. The first attempt, a bill introduced by former environment minister Sergio Marchi three years ago, met stiff opposition from both industry and environmental groups, and was allowed to die before the 1997

election. Chances of success this time seem better. Unlike Marchi's bill, which put the onus on penalties and court action against farmers, loggers and others who jeopardize rare wildlife, Anderson will sweeten his package with money for those who help save vulnerable species. "I don't have a cheque in hand," he said in an interview last week, "but [Finance Minister] Paul Martin is a very sympathetic guy on this issue."

Although Anderson was cautious about revealing details of the proposed law in advance, government officials and outsiders who have been consulted expect him to lean heavily towards

using federal funds to coax co-operation between conservationists and industries. In some cases, incentives to safeguard key habitats will be offered to land users—perhaps including farmers who agree not to till tracts of prairie where barnswallow owls find the abandoned gopher holes and boulder dens they live in. Still, there is no doubt the law will again hold the heavy stick of fines and perhaps jail sentences above any elaborate land user who defies efforts to protect a wild area. Warned Anderson: "If there's one very mean fellow, who has refused to work with his neighbours, has refused appropriate compen-

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Canada

Farmers and cattlemen are wary that would-be saviours of wildlife might provoke legal disputes

sisters, we then have to have some way of saying we're not going to let him do it."

That threat angers those who are suspicious of any endangered-species act. Alberta rancher David Wildman, president of the Western Stockgrowers' Association, predicts some cattlemen will keep wildlife biologists off their land out of fear that discovery of rare birds, animals or even plants could lead to restrictions on grazing—and ultimately costly legal clashes with the feds. He argues ranchers do not need to be told how to be good conservationists. "If we abuse that grassland," Wildman declares, "then it's a downhill slide for us." Laura Jones, director of environmental studies for the right-leaning Fraser Institute in Vancouver, contends Anderson would walk away from the plan to legislate, and instead funnel any new money available to trusted private conservation groups such as Ducks Unlimited.

"There are hundreds of organizations protecting wildlife, more than there are endangered species," Jones says. "That's a great way to direct resources." In fact, Anderson hints strongly that such groups will be invited to play a key role under his new approach. Instead of relying on a government agency to dole out incentive payments for habitat conservation, private organizations could be asked to manage the money. "It might be funded by programs where you have administration through—and I hesitate to use the name of any particular organization—but something like Ducks Unlimited," Anderson says. He added, though, that fences and resource companies should not look for windfalls. "We do not expect to pay people to do normal good behaviour. But when someone has a specific and unexpected loss, which arises solely by reason of the need to protect habitat for certain species, then

they should not bear the burden alone."

Ironically, Anderson's biggest asset in winning support for his bill could be the consensus with the unopposed previous attempt. Shared opposition to that 1996 bill helped forge unlikely coalitions of industry and environmental groups, including one called the Species at Risk Working Group—with membership ranging from the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association to the Sierra Club of Canada. Among other objections, that group's members shared a fear that March's law

would lead to pitched court battles by allowing individuals to launch lawsuits against landowners they accused of putting species at risk. Anderson flatly rejects that approach—agreeing with critics that it would have imported the litigious, confrontational approach to endangered-species protection of the United States. "The not going to have citizen civil suits," he vows.

Anderson has been conducting a diplomatic campaign to soften opposition

in advance of publicly outlining the legislation. Even members of Alberta's Land and Resource Partnerships, an alliance of staunch opponents of the 1996 bill from the oilpatch and agriculture sectors, have turned cautiously supportive after a recent dinner meeting with him. Yet Anderson, whose forced to choose, unlikely to champion wildlife over economic interests. After all, the Victoria native is a lifelong environmentalist, who has among his possessions a plush toy Vancouver Island marmot named Janice. At last count, there were just 55 of the real chocolate-brown marmots left in the wild, along with 27 more in Calgary and Toronto zoos. Anderson should know soon after going public whether he has a viable plan for turning his environmental feeling for creatures clinging to existence into a law that gives them a fighting chance. ■



A marmot on alert feelings

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Punishment gets a scolding

But anti-spank crusaders collide with critics

By Patricia Chisholm

Child needs to put on skivvies. Howling, faking, child refuses to put on skivvies. After 10 or 15 minutes of that all-too-common scenario, many frustrated parents might resort to a smack on the bum. But last week, a children's rights group asked an Ontario Superior Court judge to outlaw spanking. The Canadian Foundation for Children, Youth & the Law maintains that Section 43 of the Criminal Code, which permits "reasonable" force when disciplining a child, violates children's constitutional rights.

The federal government, the Canadian Teachers' Federation and Focus on the Family, a Vancouver-based family rights group, are some of the organizations fighting the application, claiming that repealing the section—the case is likely to go to the Supreme Court of Canada—will criminalize even mild physical discipline. And that is an idea that upsets many parents.

"It should only be used as a last resort, but I would have to be in a situation where I didn't have that to fall back on," says Eve Stagg, a mother of two boys, ages 7 and 3, in Surrey, B.C.

The spanking question usually arises once infants have morphed into that mixture of stubborn, recklessness and downstage obnoxious known as a toddler. Two decades ago, there was very little debate about the manner the occa-

sional smack, often applied to a bare bottom, was considered a parental right, if not a necessity, when it came to maintaining family order. But changing social attitudes, partly backed up by new research, have ignited a ferocious argument over the issue. Proponents say physical punishment, used as a last resort by loving parents, can help raise responsible children. The anti-spankers, however, believe that the century-old Criminal Code section provides a dangerous shield for those who use force against youngsters. "I believe it [upset of the section] is the right thing to do," says Paul Schabas, the Toronto lawyer who is acting for the Foundation on a *pro bono* basis. "The section says that it's right to hit the kids, for their own good. And that's wrong."

Others, though, say the issue is not that simple. While they may not support physical punishment, they advise against repealing the section. Peter Norman, the Calgary pediatrician who is the principal author of the Canadian Pediatric Society's pamphlet on disciplining children, says the Society does not recommend spanking. He points out, however, that research has yet to conclude that occasional light spanking of young children does lasting harm (There is conclusive evidence, however, that hitting children 14 or older leads to more violence by those children.) Banning the practice completely could lead to more verbal and emotional abuse by frustrated parents, he says. "But I think there are better ways to discipline a child, like using time-outs and consequences," he adds. "If you are speaking



The hand of discipline: a not-so-simple issue

once a day, you have a big problem."

Canadian teachers are even more strongly opposed to doing away with Section 43. There are simply too many occasions, says Teachers' Federation spokesman Harvey Weiner, where teachers must either get between stumbling students or are compelled to restrain an unruly student. "We are opposed to corporal punishment and that works for the vast majority of kids," Weiner says. "But there are some who require physical intervention."

This is a debate that is not likely to be resolved anytime soon. While there is some persuasive research linking spanking and later emotional and intellectual problems for children, critics say those studies are flawed and that further research is required. Yet even the views of spokesmen are shifting. Stagg, for one, says parents should carefully assess their children before deciding to spank—it is simply not appropriate for some kids, she says. And the given her own boys three warnings before resorting to physical punishment. Clearly, the days are gone when a belt across the hands, or a slap to the head might be considered "reasonable." And those fundamental skills in attitude may ultimately do more than any amendment of the law to spoil the rot and spare the child. ☐

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A case of Piquette pique

Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard and his predecessor, Jacques Parizeau, got together in a Montreal court to jointly sue investment counsellor Richard Lafreny for libel. The subject of their pique: a critique in a 1993 Lafreny newsletter, distributed to 275 subscribers and later picked up in the daily press, which described their appeal to Quebec nationalism as demagogic—"no difference from what Hitler did." That, said the *Parti Québécois* subcommittee, exceeded the bounds of acceptable discourse in a democracy. Justified Bouchard: "Is this the price to pay to be in politics?"

New moves to curb kids

The Ontario legislature's Conservative majority voted to outlaw "squeegee kids," cabdrivers who wash car windshields for loose change, under a so-called Safe Streets law that also prohibits "aggressive" pushhanking. The bill provides for penalties from a maximum \$300 for a first offence to \$1,000 and/or six months in jail for a repeat conviction. The Alberta legislature, on the same day, approved Conservative MLA LeRoy Johnson's private member's bill empowering municipalities to levy \$100 fines for young people under 19 years old caught smoking in public.

A blitz against blaze makers

Winnipeg police on Dec. 6 arrested two girls, aged 12 and 14, who were charged with setting six fires in the previous three months. In all, during the six weeks after the fires set up a special area-unit team on Oct. 25 to combat an epidemic of fires in the city, police arrested more than two dozen people—mostly young teenagers—in connection with some of the more than 200 fires believed to have been deliberately set during the same period.

Alleged mobsters arrested

A force of more than 300 federal, provincial and city police rounded up 38 Russian and other east European criminals in previous raids on Dec. 9 in and around Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa and Windsor, Ont.—and caught 17 others—on mob-related charges, from bank-card fraud to drug dealing.

Canada Notes



Sleepless in the House of Commons

It took a record 43 hours and 472 votes, but the controversial Maastricht treaty passed second reading despite a concerted attack from the opposition Reform party. The treaty gives the northern B.C. natives \$252 million, 2,019 square kilometres and self-government rights that Reform, as well as the B.C. opposition Liberal party, complain go beyond those of other Canadians.

Just desserts, finally

More than 5½ years after a killing that stunned the nation, and following nearly eight months of trial and six days of jury deliberation, two men were convicted in connection with the death of Georgina (VVO) Leunows, 23, who was shot during a heated robbery of the trendy Just Desserts café in Toronto. Lawrence Brown, 30, who conducted his own defence, was convicted of first-degree murder and immediately given a life sentence with no chance of parole for 25 years. Gary Francis, 28, was convicted of manslaughter and robbery and was to be sentenced this week. A third accused, O'Neil Grant, 27, was acquitted of manslaughter and robbery.

All three are black—the victim was white—and originally came from Jamaica, sparking a national debate over immigration policies and leading to defence charges of racism. During the trial, Brown frequently baited insults and obscenities at Justice Brian Tafford.

The crucial evidence linking the accused to the killing was a grainy videotape, whose reliability was vehemently disputed.

Bullying over bilingualism?

The federal and Ontario governments accused each other of bullying tactics after the province introduced a law permitting an expanded Ottawa-area emergency to offer municipal services in English only. The move followed an attempt by the Ontario Conservatives to reduce services at Ottawa's French language, Montfort Hospital and a decision to close francophone Alfred Aylward College east of the capital. In an odd twist, Quebec's national assembly unanimously supported the federal position, calling for services to be provided in both languages.

Putting Mars on Hold

The Polar Lander's failure shocks NASA

By Andrew Phillips in Washington

No one knows exactly what the surface of Mars is like, but Robert Zubrin has a pretty good idea. At least some of it, he says, is much like a frozen, god-forsaken corner of the Canadian Arctic called Houghton Crater. The terrain is similar—rough-strewn rock on the floor of a crater 16 km across. The temperature is about the same as that of the Red Planet at its warmest. Perfect for Zubrin and other Mars enthusiasts to build a prototype space station that they hope will point the way to eventual human habitation of Earth's closest planetary neighbor. "It's a simulation of Mars on Earth," says Zubrin. "It's the closest we've got."

Last week was decidedly bad one for the so-called Mars community—both the scientists and engineers of the official U.S. space program and unofficial boosters like Zubrin, president of an independent network called the Mars Society. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was forced to conclude that it had lost the \$244-million Mars Polar Lander when the craft failed to communicate with Earth after its 11-month, 756-million-km journey to the planet's south pole. It was the second loss of a U.S. Mars probe in just 2½ months. (The \$185-million Mars Climate Orbiter crashed into the planet on Sept. 23.) Together they were a devastating blow to the U.S. Mars pro-



How the craft should have looked on landing, as Arctic alternative?

gram, facing a major reevaluation of NASA's entire approach to exploring the solar system. Almost immediately, NASA officials cast doubt on whether they would go ahead with their next mission to Mars, scheduled for 2001.

What will go ahead is something far more modest—the prototype Mars station that Zubrin and his society plan to build next June and July at Houghton Crater on Devon Island in Nunavut, 75 degrees north of the equator. True believers in the possibility and necessity of voyaging to Mars, they remain undaunted by the failure of NASA missions. Instead, they plan to build a dome-like structure eight meters in diameter on the floor of the crater, which scientists from NASA's Ames Research Laboratory have also studied as the closest earthly analogue to Mars. The prototype station will be a model for a combination laboratory, workshop and living space that astronauts might occupy during a future Mars mission. The idea is to study how research might be conducted in a Mars-like environment, all the while building public support for an eventual inter-planetary voyage.

It sounds far-fetched, but the Mars Society is dead serious. While official NASA pursues its own mission into low-orbit shuttle flights and the cozy International Space Station, some 700 scientists, engineers and amateur visionaries organized themselves last year into a combination network and lobby group dedicated to proving that travel to Mars

The jinxed planet

In 29 missions since 1961, 13 Soviet and four American spacecraft have failed to orbit or land on Mars as planned. The U.S. failure:

- Mariner 3, 1964:** A protective shield failed to eject properly, preventing the craft from reaching its planned orbit around Mars.
- Mariner 6, 1971:** Soon after launch its rocket tumbled out of control and into the Atlantic Ocean.
- Mars Observer, 1993:** NASA lost contact with the \$1-billion craft three days before it was set to orbit.
- Mars Climate Orbiter, September, 1999:** Investigators believe a mix-up between metric and imperial measurements sent the \$885-million craft crashing to the Mars surface.

is part of mankind's future. Zubrin, an engineer based near Denver, Colo., and author of *The Case for Mars*, argues that it could be done in about 10 years at a cost of some \$46 billion—a fraction of the prohibitive \$666 billion that NASA estimated a decade ago. Technology, experts agree, is not the main obstacle. "We're much better prepared to go to Mars than we were to send men to the moon when that project was launched in 1962," says Zubrin. "It's a political issue. Do we have the collective will to do it?" So far the answer has been no. After the extraordinary commitment of money and political will that went into the Apollo moon landings from 1969 to 1972, the United States retreated from



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World

maned travel deeper into space. In 1976 it landed two unmanned Viking craft on Mars, and most scientists concluded from that data that the Red Planet was lifeless. Most recently, however, new research has again raised the tantalizing possibility that Mars may have hosted some form of life. In 1996, scientists analysed a chunk of Martian rock known as ALH84001 that crashed into Antarctica 11,000 years ago—and announced that it contained microscopic fossils and other signs of life. Other experts dispute that claim, but it generated new excitement about exploring the planet. That was further fueled by the successful 1997 landing of the Pathfinder mission, which sent a solar-powered Sojourner roving the Martian surface and snapping thousands of capturing images.

The Polar Lander was designed to test for signs that Mars may contain enough water to harbour some form of life. Scientists believe the planet had liquid water billions of years ago—enough to carve the deep channels that mark its surface. Another U.S. spacecraft, the Mars Orbiter Surveyor, is circling the planet and returning images of ancient shorelines and a vast long-ago ocean, thus appeared last week in the journal *Science*. The water apparently evaporated long ago, but the Polar Lander was designed to take samples of the Martian soil, analyze them, and beam back its findings. NASA had hoped to find whether water remains in some form—an indication that life there might be possible.

The Polar Lander was scheduled to set down on the Martian equivalent of Antarctica on Dec. 3 and send back a signal that it had landed. Instead, engineers at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., heard nothing, then, and for the next several days. Finally they concluded that the craft had either crashed onto the planet or was malfunctioning. It was a bitter blow, one that space experts say calls into question NASA's dramatic recent cut-cutting—in so-called "faster, better, cheaper" approach.

Both the Mars Climate Orbiter and

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the Polar Lander were built for about the price of a major Hollywood movie—roughly half the cost of previous Mars missions. Independent experts say support teams and systems designed to weed out errors have been severely reduced. "We're not spending enough to meet the goals," says John Logsdon, director of the Space Policy Institute at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. "We were over the point where costs can be cut without putting the science at risk." The most striking example was the loss of the Mars Climate Orbiter because of an elementary error confusing metric and imperial measurement. NASA investigators concluded that the underlying problem was not that embarrassing mistake, but the fact that it was not detected in time by overworked, undertrained technicians.

The losses prompted NASA to question its schedule for Mars missions. It had planned to launch two missions in 2001, then another one in 2003 that would collect surface samples and put them into orbit. Those samples would be retrieved by another mission in 2005, and returned to Earth by 2008. Now all that is in doubt as officials rethink their strategy for exploring other planets. "To make matters worse, it comes at a time when NASA's other programs are crumbling—with the shuttle fleet grounded, repeated delays in building the space station, and the Hubble Space Telescope out of commission.

Meanwhile, though, Zubrin's society will go ahead with building what it calls the Mars Arctic Research Station on Devon Island. They will build the structure alongside 21 scientists from NASA's own Mars Project—most of whom are members of the Mars Society themselves. Then they will gather in Toronto in August for their third convention, an annual gathering of Mars enthusiasts. NASA's current woes, says Zubrin, will not deter them. "There's no doubt we'll get to Mars," he says. "If we don't, we're not the same species that explored the whole world and went to the moon." ■

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Andrew Phillips

America's bitter pills

After *Harry and Louise*, meet Flo. Harry and Louise, you may remember, were fictional creations of the U.S. health insurance industry, a sympathetic couple who started in 1986 in some of the most devastatingly effective political ads ever. As Bill Clinton was promoting his ambitious 1994 health-care plan, Harry and Louise were all over CNN, complaining that it was just a takeover bid by the kind of government bureaucracy Americans love to hate. It worked: the plan died, and for five years party-political politicians tipped around health care even as the number of Americans without insurance soared to a scandalous 44 million.

Now comes Flo, an equally fictional senior citizen who pushes the same buttons by complaining in a new ad about

"big government in my medicine cabinet." Flo's puppet marionette is from the U.S. drug industry, which smells the same kind of threat the insurance people stomped out five years ago. For the first time since then, leading politicians such as Bill Bradley are actually putting health care at the top of their agendas, daring to suggest that the richest country in the world at the height of its greatest prosperity might actually extend the benefits of its marvelous medical system to all its citizens.

The cutting edge of the debate is what to do about the high cost of prescription drugs in the United States—a drama in which Canada once again has a walk-on part.

That's because prescription drugs are so much cheaper just across the border from the United States—across either border, in fact. U.S. media outlets are full of reports about Americans, including seniors in retirement bus tours, flocking to pharmacies just inside Canada and Mexico to load up on popular drugs at a fraction of the cost they pay at home. *Prozac*, the best-selling prescription medicine for heartburn and ulcers, goes for \$4.88 (Canadian) a pill in the United States, where it's made, compared to just \$2.17 in Canada—and \$1.46 in Mexico. It's the same for the 10 most popular drugs used by seniors: one survey shows they're 81 per cent cheaper in Canada.

That's because the United States is the only developed country that doesn't control the price of prescription drugs. In Canada, the obscure Patented Medicine Prices Review Board graciously keeps consumer costs from rising above the

median of seven other industrial countries, saving Canadians \$2.2 billion a year off what they would pay for the same drugs in the United States. No wonder pressure is building among Americans to do something about it, and no wonder politicians are jumping to meet their complaints.

First in line is Clinton, who argues that no American should "be forced to get on the bus to Canada." Al Gore, his vice-president and would-be successor, staged a campaign event at a pharmacy to denounce the indignity of the border bus trip. Clinton wants to extend Medicare coverage for those 65 and over to prescription drugs. Two-thirds already have drug coverage, but it's a carry-over from Medicare's original aim at covering the less-organized young bloc. It does nothing, however, for the people most in need of help—those with no health insurance at all, including an astounding 11 million U.S. children.

Canadians love to gloat about inequities in the U.S. health system, but this one should give them no satisfaction. U.S. prescription drug prices are indeed high—for a host of reasons. One is the lack of government price controls. Another is that demand is surging for new generations of drugs that are revolutionizing the treatment of disorders like depression, Alzheimer's and allergies. American drug companies also make enormous profits. *Forbes* magazine estimates the pharmaceutical industry is the most profitable of all based on equity, revenue and assets. But they're also the ones that come up with by far the largest number of breakthrough drugs—drugs the rest of the world snaps up at bargain prices.

The result is that Canadians, protected by price controls, are effectively being subsidized by American consumers. They pay the bulk of the cost of research, development and production of cutting-edge drugs—plus handsome profits for the companies that come up with them. We buy the same products for about half price.

Alan Sagor, a health-policy expert at Boston University, calls this odd system "foreign aid" from U.S. consumers to people in other rich countries. Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, himself a doctor, sees his citizens dashing across the border to save money. "Right now," he says, "somebody's getting a five ride at our expense." In fact, that somebody is Canadians. No wonder drugs are the next big battle in America's health wars.



Dorothy Carlson of Mesa, Ariz., with medicine she bought in Mexico cheaper

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Seattle's top cop quits

Seattle police Chief Norm Stamper is resigning in the wake of the World Trade Organization street protests that devastated his city. Stamper will remain at the helm of the 1,800-member police force until March. Seattle city council is investigating the force's conduct during demonstrations that briefly halted the four-day conference.

Croatian president dies

The death of Croatia's virtual dictator, Franjo Tudjman, at 77 from stomach cancer sparked democratic hopes that his replacement would emerge from free elections. Once the youngest general in Yugoslavia's army, the fiery nationalist led his country to independence from the former Yugoslavia in 1991.

Refugee or hostage?

Elián González, the six-year-old Cuban boy rescued from the waters off Miami, is the centre of a custody dispute between his U.S. relatives, who want him to stay in America, and his father, who wants him to return to Cuba. The boy's mother and stepfather died while the family tried to reach Florida by boat.

Physicist charged

A former U.S. government physicist at the centre of a China spying scandal was indicted on 53 criminal charges relating to mishandling top-secret nuclear weapon data, but he was not charged with spying. Wen Hui Luo, 59, was fired from the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico in March amid allegations that China stole U.S. nuclear secrets. U.S. officials have reportedly admitted they lack evidence Luo gave material to China.

A King 'conspiracy'

A Tennessee jury found that the 1968 assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. was the result of a conspiracy, not the actions of a single killer. The verdict came in a wrongful death suit filed by King's family against a former restaurant owner who says he was paid to plan the killing. James Earl Ray, who died in 1998, pleaded guilty to King's murder but later recanted.

World Notes



Armed in Grozny, a shifting scenario to citizens from Russian authorities

Tightening the Grozny noose

Russian jets and helicopter gunships continued their round-the-clock bombardment of Grozny as ground troops closed in for a final attack against rebels holed up in Chechnya's capital. The Russian military, which last week warned inhabitants in Ingush to "get out or die," promised to allow civilians from the city to leave through its Russian-controlled routes. Russian deputy chief of staff Gen. Valery Masllov vowed that his troops would not enter Grozny, which had an estimated 60,000 residents left, until it had been reduced to rubble. Moscow, with wide support from Russians, portrays the war as a rebellion against a string of terrorist bombings in Moscow

and other cities that killed hundreds. But many analysts believe the military is bent on averting its humiliating defeat by the rebels in 1996.

Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Austin said Russian tactics crossed "the line into potential crimes against humanity." U.S. President Bill Clinton warned that Russia's brutal treatment of civilians was jeopardizing financial aid. But Russian President Boris Yeltsin, visiting a highly supportive China, rebuffed Clinton, saying "it seems he has forgotten that Russia has a full arsenal of nuclear weapons." Moscow also has plenty of more traditional weapons—a fact those trapped in Grozny are painfully aware of.

Israel and Syria raise peace hopes

Euphoria swept the Middle East as Israel and Syria agreed to meet this week in Washington to begin peace talks. Under the deal, brokered by U.S. President Bill Clinton, Israeli's chief negotiator will be Prime Minister Ehud Barak, while Syrian President Hafez Assad chose to send his

foreign minister, Farouk al-Shara. Syria has long demanded the return of the Golan Heights, which Israel captured in the 1967 Six-Day War with its Arab neighbours. Israel wants diplomatic recognition from Syria, if the talks succeed, they may kick-start peace negotiations between Israel and Lebanon. Barak said he hoped "to bring security to Israel through a series of peace agreements with all our neighbours."



Toronto's Pearson International Airport: very expensive purchase!

After the Takeover

An expert outlines the future shape of Canada's airline industry—consumers will not be happy

Last week—pending federal government approval and a shareholders vote on Dec. 29—Air Canada took control of Canadian Airlines International with a \$92-million offer. At the same time, a House of Commons transport committee warned the new near-monopoly that the price of approval may be stringent regulations governing everything from ticket prices to route schedules. To meet the fallout, Maclean's National Affairs Columnist Anthony Wilson-Smith spoke with Phil Pham, a professor of strategic management at the Schulich School of Business at Toronto's York University, and one of Canada's leading experts on the airline industry.

Maclean's: Transport Minister David Colquhoun says he will introduce legislation in February creating the grounds by which Air Canada, as a near-monopoly, would operate. Is that appropriate wording?

Pham: It is too long, and therefore bad for all involved. It creates investor uncertainty, and paralyzes the decision-making process at a key time. He should have been able to anticipate this outcome earlier.

Maclean's: How do you expect Air Canada will manage Canadian's affairs if the takeover is approved?

Pham: It would make great sense to immediately turn around and sell it. This is a very expensive purchase: in addition to the \$92 million Air Canada is paying, it will cost an immediate \$250 to \$300 million to acquirable Canadian. On top of that, there is \$100 to \$140 million that must be paid to AMR,

at the worst possible combination, because you need big planes to fly great distances, and they burn a great amount of fuel proportionally. That makes costs high and revenue low, because the planes often fly more than half empty.

Maclean's: Is there a way to fix that?

Pham: You need lots of regional carriers with interlocking schedules that feed off each other's networks to co-ordinate travel. That way, you fly smaller, more fuel-efficient jets, lower costs, and fill airplanes.

Maclean's: Are fare increases inevitable in a monopoly situation?

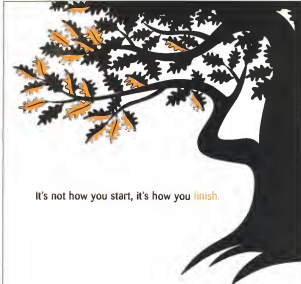
Pham: You notice Air Canada immediately raised ticket prices three per cent last week—but only domestically, where the competition is now dead. That's an example of why they must change their management thinking, or alienate people. The alternative is for the government to allow foreign-owned companies to fly domestically, and they have said they will not consider that.

Maclean's: Aside from nationalist sentiment, why not?

Pham: If you allow that, you reopen price wars, which caused the entire mess in the first place. With the monopoly situation Air Canada now has, you will get a healthy company. You also get higher prices with that. So pick your poison.

Maclean's: What is the likely long-term outcome?

Pham: Seventy per cent of travel now goes north-south, where you compete with the American carriers. That figure is steadily increasing. So no matter what the government now says, it seems inevitable that we will eventually have within North America a full open-sky agreement, with complete access to markets on both sides of the border. And with international alliances and shared services, things like schedules and ticket prices are interlocked with those of other airlines. No airline is really independent now. People can like or dislike that, but they can't ignore it. ■



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'David vs. Goliath'

A Montrealer wins a suit against a corporate giant

By Brenda Beaulieu in Montreal

As André Liotette gets a new visitor to his downtown Montreal home, he is expectantly dressed in a black blazer and pale shirt. But when he hears that his tiny, one-room apartment is a mess, he isn't cowering. His mattress lies on the floor beside a cardboard box that serves as a night table. The only clear space is a narrow path leading to a cluttered desk. Everything else is a jumble of books, legal files and newspapers—all reminders of his incredibly grueling, but ultimately successful seven-year legal battle against RBC Dominion Securities Inc. for breach of contract. Last week, the 53-year-old Liotette received his third and final payment from RBC-DIS in an award totalling \$3 million. "Over the last three weeks or so, the once successful businessman, up, laugh-

ing, 'I've had the greatest social life I've had in the last eight years'."

Such are the spoils of what Liotette's Web site calls his "David vs. Goliath" victory over a corporate giant. After all, Dominion Securities is one of Canada's leading brokerage firms and a subsidiary of the largest bank, the Royal Bank of Canada. Liotette was just a small entrepreneur in 1992 when the brokerage did not continue an investment program that he had helped set up—and his subsequent legal battle accused him to bring liability in a car. Quebec Superior Court judge Nicole Morneau clearly saw the fight as uneven. In her Nov. 11 ruling, she accused RBC-DIS of treating Liotette with contempt and of using stalling tactics. "The court sees in this the deliberate intent to wear out, if not exhaust, the plaintiff in an attempt to escape its responsibility,"

Liotette at home. The happy tip's revealed. At last I can turn the page.

she wrote. In an unusual step, the justice ordered RBC-DIS to pay Liotette \$1 million immediately, regardless of whether they planned to appeal.

The brokerage did not appeal, ultimately paying Liotette the \$3 million in lost incomes, other damages and interest. Jean-Pierre De Montigny, managing director at RBC-DIS, told *Montrealer* that one problem contributing to delays in the case was the fact that more of the people involved no longer worked for the firm. "We're not happy that it took so long, which is also one of the reasons we're not appealing," he added. Still, he objects to the firm being portrayed as a ruthless giant. "I don't know who is the David and who is the Goliath here," says De Montigny. "I mean, he showed up with 35 boxes of documents at the court and he has a beautiful Web site. So, he's well organized."

De Montigny also argues that RBC-DIS offered to settle several times, but Liotette refused. He had, in fact, sought \$5.2 million plus interest. And he lost a parallel libel suit and had to pay RBC-DIS \$25,000 for defamatory remarks he wrote in a 1993 letter to more than 75 securities regulators and other groups about the dispute. Still, Liotette is enjoying a sense of sweet vindication with his victory over RBC-DIS. "They just didn't know who they were bumping into."

Liotette named out to be a conscious opponent. A national vice-president of the Liberal Party of Canada from 1984 to 1990, Liotette reached an oral agreement in April 1990 with the Montreal brokerage firm McNeil Marché Inc. to set up an immigrant investor program to lure Asian capital to Quebec companies. They struck a five-year deal, which was eventually put in writing in September, 1991. But 12 days later, RBC-DIS announced plans to acquire McNeil Marché—a move that left Liotette in limbo. He pressed RBC-DIS about its intentions, but the firm took until February 1992 to announce it would not continue the program. (Those delays, noted Morneau, caused Liotette to lose

Automotive Marketplace

ONTARIO



The Future of the Minivan

Dennis DesRosiers

The North American light vehicle market is now in its eighth year of recovery and by most analysts' accounts it should stay healthy for at least three, and probably five, years. However, the market has recovered differently during this cycle than it has from other previous downturns. Instead of a sharp upturn, sales have shown a slow, stable recovery. This may turn out to be a positive for the automotive sector since it could mean eight to 10 years of stability instead of three to five years of rapid growth followed by a similar period of radical decline.

In the midst of this positive outlook for sales is one possible problem area—the outlook for minivan sales. Minivans have led light-truck growth over the last decade. However, for the first time since their introduction in 1983-1984, minivans are facing a serious challenge from other products such as sport utility vehicles.

The future of the minivan is important to Canada. A quarter of our automotive production is in these vehicles. More critical is its significance for Chrysler Chrysler which has dominated the minivan market since its inception.

Minivans have been around for a long time, but they were not originally designed for the mass market. Most consumers remember the Volkswagen bus popularized during the 1970s by the hippie generation. In 1983, Daimler

Chrysler correctly interpreted that the baby boomers' automotive needs were not well served by existing vehicles and launched the first modern-day compact van or, as it has come to be called, the minivan. The original concept was to develop a van small enough for garages and customer friendly, especially for women buyers.

The typical minivan owner is a boomer with two or three children, a dog, a cottage and a lot of destinations to drive to each day. Hockey, soccer, ballet and gymnastics are all team activities and the boomers' kids expect to be driven to practices and competitions. Much of the responsibility for this falls on mothers' shoulders, so minivans had to be designed to make them easy for women to get in and out of, drive and park.

Minivans are also classified as light trucks and can therefore avoid much of the very restrictive and very costly regulations imposed on passenger cars. They are therefore cheaper to manufacture. That translated into an affordable product, ideally targeted to the consumer's needs.

The minivan was perfect for the 1980s and 1990s. During their first year, minivan sales in North America jumped to more than 230,000 units and continued to rise unabated by downturns and difficult economic times. Sales grew until 1994 when they accounted for nine per cent of total light vehicle sales or about 1.5 million units in North

other demographic groups and lower prices compared with sport utilities. Up until a few years ago Daimler Chrysler followed by Ford, and to a degree GM, were the only companies with highly successful high-volume products in this segment. Now Toyota and Honda also have mainstream and well-developed minivans in the market. Historically new product introductions have resulted in higher sales. This should be positive for the entire business segment.

Led by Daimler Chrysler and Honda, the minivan product is also being repositioned to more upscale with luxury features. Most companies have also introduced a driver's side sliding door. Daimler Chrysler is even pricing their vehicles to older, retired consumers.

But perhaps the most compelling argument for continued healthy sales is price. It is difficult to put a full size sport utility in your driveway for less than \$40,000. It is still possible to buy a minivan for \$25,000. That huge price differential is a very powerful marketing tool.

All things considered, I am more positive about the minivan than negative, and believe the vehicle companies have the power through the use of incentives and pricing mechanisms, to ensure that minivans will be with us for a long time yet.

Minivan Segment - Share of the Market

Year	Canada	United States	North America
1984	1.9%	1.7%	264,206
1985	3.0%	3.0%	515,616
1986	5.0%	4.0%	699,062
1987	5.7%	4.8%	792,028
1988	6.3%	5.4%	931,724
1989	7.3%	5.7%	949,375
1990	8.7%	6.7%	1,038,103
1991	9.8%	7.1%	1,202,615
1992	12.0%	7.6%	1,122,462
1993	14.1%	8.2%	1,303,164
1994	14.9%	8.4%	1,447,401
1995	15.1%	8.5%	1,457,022
1996	16.2%	8.3%	1,404,881
1997	16.7%	8.3%	1,463,215
1998	16.4%	7.5%	1,444,785
1999	16.8%	6.6%	1,390,000



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Business

credibility). After trying to negotiate a buyout with KBC-DS, he filed his lawsuit in December last year.

His life had already begun to unravel. In the fall of 1991, with the insurance program up in the air and no revenue coming in, Luzzatto started showing up at his home in the busy Town of Mount Royal. Soon after, he and his wife separated. "When I started this lawsuit I was already broke," says Luzzatto, who says he had no choice but to work full time on the case to avoid even higher legal fees. In 1993, he ended up living out of his leased Sub for two weeks before relinquishing it because of unpaid bills. Luzzatto then spent a few nights at a homeless shelter, not far from the soup kitchens where he and wife used to serve food. Finally, he states, Denise Luzzatto, provided him with a small apartment, and other affluent friends lent him money for his legal affairs. "Accepting charity was very difficult," he says, his eyes welling with tears. "I didn't even have suitable clothing to go to the trial. It was my 77-year-old mother who clothed me."

Embarrassed by his money woes, Luzzatto withdrew from friends. Carole Villeneuve was one of the few who saw Luzzatto's reaction. "He had a lot of fidgeting, worry and stress," says the Hall, Que. businessman who lent his long-time friend hundreds of thousands of dollars. Adds Luzzatto's lawyer Richard Monague: "He actually worked—I'm not exaggerating—seven days a week for six or a half years." Was it worth it? "The play is still out," Luzzatto says. "I'm happy it's resolved. At last I can turn the page." He is in talks with a filmmaker about turning his story into a TV mini-series, and plans to resume a career in business. He booked a Caribbean holiday for this week and reserved a room at Montreal's exclusive St. James Club for a victory bath in January. But he says his first task is to pay his \$1.3 million in debts. He must also cope with his new reality. "After you're trapped in fear, and only excited for the last eight years," says Luzzatto, "that will probably be the most difficult adjustment." ■

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Not so tip-top shape

Toronto-based Dyles Ltd., which operates Tip Top Tacos, R/Way Thrifties, Fairwashes, Biscuits and Labels stores across Canada, put its 648 retail outlets up for sale. The firm revealed its intentions after Dyles shares hit a 52-week low of \$1.75. (In 1997, Dyles traded in the \$9 range.) Dyles stock rallied as a result, closing the week at \$2.65.

Ending Inco's lockout

Employees at Inco Ltd.'s nickel mine in Thompson, Minn., voted 66 per cent in favour of a three-year contract offer. The deal includes a five-per-cent wage increase, a \$1,000 signing bonus and a 13-per-cent pension hike. Inco had locked out 1,109 workers for 12 weeks. Sudbury, Ont., miners at Inco and Falconbridge Ltd. are expected to use the deal as the basis for talks next summer.

Lots of fast food

Toronto-based Scott's Restaurants Inc., owned by John Brave Jr. and Titeco Global Restaurants Inc. of Louisville, Ky., struck a deal to merge their 639 Canadian outlets of KFC, Taco Bell and Pizza Hut. Brave, who will head the new operation, becomes Canada's largest fast-food operator.

Milk and money

Dairyworld Foods of Burnaby, B.C., plans to join the Canadian subsidiary of Italian food giant Parmalat. Parmalat SpA in cream. Parmalat Foods Ltd. The new company will acquire for almost half of Canada's production of milk and have annual sales of more than \$1 billion. Federal competition regulators are to review the deal. Dairyland sells milk under the Dairyland and Borden labels, while Parmalat brands include Borden and Lacombe.

Just say no to monetary union

Canada is better off to maintain a flexible exchange rate against the U.S. dollar, says a C.D. Howe Institute study. Recent critics have called for a fixed rate as a prelude to establishing a North American monetary union. The study, however, says several countries with fixed rates have suffered recessions since 1997, while Canada's economy continues to grow with low inflation.

Business Notes

A sell-off at TransCanada

In a move that stunned many in the investment community, TransCanada Pipelines Ltd. announced a \$3-billion asset sell-off, and a sharp cut in its dividend. The Calgary-based energy giant also expects to shed 1,500 of 4,400 jobs as it dumps non-core assets to focus on natural gas transmission, power generation and marketing in Canada and the northern United States. The company plans to get out of the so-called madrasen business of processing natural gas and gas liquids. Chief executive Doug Bolivar and he expect many employees with the divisions being sold to find work with the new owners. TransCanada will use the money it raises to repay debt and improve its balance sheet. TransCanada



Bolivar: a move that stunned investors

has already cut 600 jobs and sold off \$1 billion in assets as it restructures following its 1998 merger with civil Nova Corp. That \$14-billion deal was one of the largest in Canadian history. Investors reacted strongly to the latest move, especially to the announcement that the dividend will drop to 80 cents per share from \$1.12. In heavy trading, TransCanada stock fell \$3.40 cents to close the week at \$12.10.

The CPP becomes a player in stocks

Federal Finance Minister Paul Martin and his provincial counterparts agreed to allow the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board to actively invest in the stock market. Previously, the CPP was restricted to investments in 20-year provincial bonds, which have had below-market returns. In 2000, the CPP is expected to invest about \$5 billion in all, a figure which could climb to as high as \$90 billion by 2007. The decision to invest in the stock market is aimed at increasing returns on the CPP to help pay for the flood of baby boomers who are expected to begin retiring in 2011.

Financial Outlook

With RRSP season just about to start, Canadians are planning to invest in record numbers. The Royal Bank's ninth annual survey found

that 52 per cent will put money into their registered retirement savings plans—up from 44 per cent in the 1998 survey. Ontario leads the way with 59 per cent planning to invest in plans, while the Atlantic provinces are projected to have the lowest contribution rate, at 41 per cent. Canadians will contribute \$5,051 on average to their RRSPs—up nearly 20 per cent from last year—with baby boomers, university graduates and high-income earners leading the way. As for those who will not be contributing to the savings plans—46 per cent say they do not have enough money.





Ross Laver

Behind the Linux lunacy

As recently as a couple of years ago, not one investor in 100 had ever heard of the Linux operating system. Now, in the wake of one of the strangest weeks in stock market history, millions of people are scrambling to throw money at Linux, though probably fewer than one in 100 of them has seen or used it. [For that matter, many investors can't even pronounce it correctly. (It rhymes with cynics.)]

A stock market frenzy by definition is an irrational thing, so perhaps it's a waste of time to try to understand what's going on and to relate it to the real world. But let's try anyway, bearing in mind that money for the time being, is beside the point when evaluating the future of Linux companies.

First, a little background. Linux is an operating system that was started in 1991 by a university student in Finland named Linus Torvalds. It's similar to an older OS called Unix, which means it is stable and highly versatile although not particularly easy to use unless you happen to have geekish tendencies. It's also free. Instead of trying to profit from his creation, Torvalds gave it away over the Internet, on condition that anyone who altered or improved it agreed to share those changes with other users. That, more than anything, is what distinguishes Linux from a proprietary OS such as Microsoft Windows. Microsoft controls the source code to Windows and, to maintain compatibility with other programs, does not allow users to alter it in any way. Linux, on the other hand, is constantly evolving thanks to the volunteer efforts of thousands of programmers around the world.

This is why so many engineers—who are attracted by nature—love Linux and despise Microsoft. Buying Windows, as one critic put it, is like buying a car whose hood is permanently welded shut. If you don't like it, too bad. Now, we get to what has become a central article of faith among Linux supporters. Over time, they believe, Linux will continue to get better and will surpass Windows in quality and ease of use. Many would agree that it already has.

If you've come this far, you may be wondering how companies can hope to make big money off free software. They can't, but they can make money building computers designed to run Linux. (This is the strategy pursued by VA Linux Systems Inc. of Sunnyvale, Calif., where public last week and immediately saw its stock rise 700 per cent, setting a record for the most successful share offering in history.) Alternately, they can give away the OS but charge for

service, the approach taken by Red Hat Software Inc. of Raleigh, N.C. Or, like Ottawa-based Corel Corp., they can distribute their own, more user-friendly, version of the Linux in the hope that users will turn around and buy Corel applications, such as WordPerfect, that are configured to work with it.

The bottom line, however, is that right now nobody—apart from some lucky stock traders—is making serious money from Linux. VA Linux sports a market capitalization of \$12.8 billion, but lost \$21.8 million in its most recent fiscal year. Red Hat is valued at \$29 billion, but lost \$7.7 million in the six months to Aug. 31. Corel's Linux effort is also losing money, although overall the firm is profitable.

So what's going on? In essence, investors are betting that Linux will one day replace Windows as the world's leading OS. If that happens, the thinking goes, companies that have tied their futures to Linux will actually be worth their astronomical market caps.

There's only one problem: it's not going to happen, at least not the way investors want. The hundreds of millions of people who use PCs are not crying out for a new OS, and they will resist any effort to get them to switch. That's not just my opinion—people like Bob Young, the Canadian-born co-founder of Red Hat, say exactly the same thing. It's actually a basic principle of high-tech marketing: once a product becomes the industry standard, it almost always seems that position even if competitors come on the scene that are better or offer new features. Why? For the same reason that most car owners choose not to mess under the hood. Not being engineers, they're quite content to live with what's there, rather than yanking out the engine and installing something new that does a bit faster or goes slightly better gas mileage.

The real hope for Linux, in other words, lies in the post-PC world, when the transition to new technology—disruptive innovations, to use the jargon—creates an opening in the market for an OS that is better than anything from Microsoft. At that point, Linux will certainly be a powerful contender. Whether companies like Corel, Red Hat and VA Linux will successfully make the leap to that new mode of computing, however, is anybody's guess. The whole point of disruptive innovation is that most of the existing players get left in the dust. Red Hat closed last week at \$27.5 (U.S.). I think 700 points.

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WE CAN ALL BE HEROES



Stranger in a strange land, in strange times

Annexika

By M. G. Vassanji
McClelland & Stewart, 412 pages, \$34.95

At first, there is much that seems enticing about the latest offering from Toronto writer M. G. Vassanji, who won the Giller Prize in 1994 for *The Book of Secrets*. *Annexika* traces the life of Ramji, a young native of East Africa who leaves his home in the late 1960s to study in that fabled land, the United States of America. Already accustomed to feeling like an outsider in Africa by virtue of his East Indian ancestry, Ramji approaches "Annexika"—his beloved grandmother's pronunciation—with a mixture of awe, repudiation and disgust. He is overwhelmed by the warmth and generosity of Americans, yet appalled by a society that seems indifferent to violence and the yawning chasm between rich and poor. His distant eye registers the shallow yet well-intentioned attitudes of '90s protesters. He is equally ambivalent about the efforts of his fellow immigrants to blend in and prosper while still retaining ties to their Islamic and Hindu roots.

All this seems like fertile ground, especially for *Annexika*, who have watched their own culture change and mature as a result of positive immigration. The novel is marred, however, by a narrative style that seldom rises to the challenge of its themes. Where there should be insight and reflection, there is only a pedestrian lineup of facts and events, leaving an unsatisfied character who fails to engage, much less entertain or enlighten.

There are moments when Ramji seems to touch something true: the fear and excitement of being on a bus full of demonstrators headed for an anti-Vietnam protest in Washington in 1969, the summer party, twenty years later, where other expatriate families from Africa are gathered, and where Ramji's marriage seems to crystallize in a single moment. But for the most part, his moves, as well as those of the other characters—a scholar who becomes a political radical, a revolutionary who mauls over the years—remain murky to the end.

Pamela Chisholm

New World tragedy

A desperate girl takes on a male identity

Isobel Gunn

By Audrey Thomas
Penguin, 230 pages, \$29.95

On Dec. 29, 1807, Alexander Henry, chief factor at a fur trading post in what is now southern Manitoba, described in his journal the remarkable birth of a son to a young Scottish girl named Isobel Gunn. Until the pain of labor forced her to reveal herself, Isobel had successfully disguised herself as a man for a year and a half. Henry's journal entry, as well as birth and death certificates, form the factual basis for Wise Coast author Audrey Thomas's capturing and tragic new novel.

Thomas begins her tale on one of the Orkney Islands. Nannor Magnus Innes, a fellow islander, chronicles Isobel's grim life. Badly scarred by smallpox and unlikely to marry, young Isobel seems doomed to a future of caring for

her alcoholic father (but she begins to plan an escape when she hears sailor John Scaerth's fantastic tales of the time he spent on Hudson Bay). Keeping to herself and dressed in the bulky clothing worn against the cold in winter and against insects in summer, the escapes discovery by all except Scaerth. He recognizes her and uses his knowledge of her secret to repeatedly rape her.

Forcibly separated from her son when he is only 2, she spends the rest of her long life viciously trying to see him again. Isobel's heartbreaking story drives *Isobel*, a delectable, to-grapple-with concept of predestination, heaven and God. His ramblings give the book plenty of thematic heft. But it is the courageous Isobel herself who lingers in the reader's imagination.

Susan McCllland

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chataleine



Allan Fotheringham

Here's one vote for Winnie

Henry R. Luce, who in 1923 at the age of 25 invented the newspaper and called it *Time*, would be appalled. Those who have grown rich on his legacy have been running a modest corner on "The people of the century."

Among the five categories listed in a *Time* house ad, under Leaders and Revolutionaries, Hitler and Ronald Reagan are misplaced. Under Builders and Titans, President Lucky Luciano is also misplaced. *Time* promises, in the edition dated Dec. 31, 1999, to name the "Person of the century."

A contest? There is no contest. Never has been one.

The name is Winston Spencer Churchill. If he does not get the nod, *Time*, Luce's brilliant invention, will get laughed off the newsstands.

Churchill was born in 1874 at Blenheim Palace to Lord Randolph Churchill, third son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough, and everyone assumed to be a future prime minister. The young Winston stated that he had, by age 12, exactly two conversations with his father.

With his American mother, the teenage Winston was in the House of Commons public gallery when his father, senator, with vitriol of the brain, were dumb in mad-debate and stood there, speechless.

Accused of drinking too much, Churchill once said, "I have taken more out of whiskey than whisky has ever taken out of me."

An indifferent student at Harrow, he enrolled at Sandhurst Military College.

With the Nile expeditionary force, he fought hand-to-hand against the Derwishes in Omdurman. (He was 24.) In the Boer War, as a reporter he was captured and escaped with a \$25,000 price on his head. As he later wrote: "Nothing in life is exhilarating to be alive at without risk."

Churchill never had any real money. One of power almost all his life, he had to support himself in journalism and on speaking tours of North America. He once arrived in Vancouver, to be met at the railway station by young J. V. Clynne, eager young lawyer, later chief justice of the B.C. Supreme Court and then chairman of MacMillan Bloedel.

Winston announced he was headed for the top of Grouse Mountain to paint (his great hobby): the finest Vancouver harbour and would need a bottle of Scotch. As Clynne later told the story, he nervously explained to Churchill about Prohibition. No tikes, no wikes. No speech. The meeting

Clynne, having found a bootlegger, walked all the way to the peak and Churchill, hearing the bushes creaking behind him, never raised eyes from palace and said: "Get the whisky?"

The great man, ever impeccably, was taken in, turned in the 1930s by Bernard Baruch, the famous Wall Street financial guru, who put him into stocks and bonds. Churchill was a disaster as an investor. After some years, Baruch called him and said, faking it, that his investments had grown a wash. He was just even.

When an aide came into the War Cabinet and announced that Bushy had joined the Axis with 250 lbs, Churchill shrugged: "It only fits. We had them on our side the last time." One day he was surprised in the Commons animal by Labour leader Clement Attlee who, finding Winston quickly turning up, said he didn't know the PM was so modest. "It's not that, Clem," the PM replied. "It's just I thought if I could see something large and running, freely you'd want to announce it."

Every one of his wartime speeches, as a general and, was worth a signature. After the gesture of all—"we shall fight on the beaches... we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender"—he said in an address to the *New York Herald Tribune's* Dean Hewlett Johnson: "And we will lay down our heads with better hope, which is all we have really got."

He fancied himself a poker player. After the war, in Washington, he asked President Harry Truman to arrange a four-some. After several hands, it was clear he was a lousy poker hand. When Churchill excused himself to go to the loo, Truman issued a command: "Lose," he ordered the table that included David Ben-Gurion. "This guy won't win the world."

I used to live around the corner from Churchill, in Knightsbridge just off Hyde Park, and on his birthday, we would go around, while the First Street photos gathered, to pay our respects. Bicycled, he would wave through the windows, Clementine at his side.

In 1908 he married Clementine Ogilvy Fox, daughter of Sir Henry and Lady Blanche Haver, and, as he fondly wrote: "We lived happily ever after."

When the wee-wee Labour votes tossed him out within months of saving the world, he had only this to say: "Trace the people."

A contest? *Time*, get serious.



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